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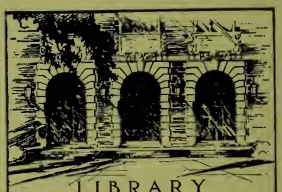

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TRAVELS

OF

THE DUKE DE CHATELET,

IN

PORTUGAL.

COMPREHENDING

Interesting Particulars relative to the Colonies; the Earthquake of Lisbon; the Marquis de Pombal, and the Court.

The Manuscript revised, corrected, and enlarged, with Notes, on the present State of the Kingdom and Colonies of Portugal,

BY J. FR. BOURGOING,

Late Minister Plenipotentiary, from the French Republic, in Spain, Member of the National Institute, and Author of the Modern State of Spain.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY JOHN JOSEPH STOCKDALE.

Illustrated with a Map of Portugal, and View of the Bay of Lisbon.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TRAVELS

IN

PORTUGAL.

CHAPTER XII.

Army.

For more than a century, the army of Portugal has been in the lowest state of degradation. Scarcely could this kingdom raise more than 10,000 men, and those consisting of peasants, or rather vagabonds, without uniforms, without arms, and without discipline, begging about the streets, and giving themselves up to every species of disorder. Has a native the desire of gratifying his revenge, he applies to one of these savages, and for a mere trifle, gets rid of his enemy. Even the officers of this army were men of no repute; they were the servants of the higher orders, who waited on the majors, captains,

and lieutenants, and who, notwithstanding the regimentals in which they were cloathed, continued to attend on their masters at table, and to follow them when they quitted it.

It was the year 1762, when Portugal, having engaged in a war with Spain, received into her service Count de la Lippe, from whose introduction we may date the improvement of the Portuguese army, which is now on a somewhat more respectable footing. But the talents and exertions of this foreign officer, could not entirely remove the evil. This General was unfortunately ill supported by the Marquis de Pombal, who was wholly unacquainted with military science, who viewed the army only as an instrument of political power, and who therefore always held it in a state of servile dependence.

This minister, a year afterwards, contemplating a new conflict with Spain, raised an army which the country was unable to maintain. These troops were ill paid, badly commanded, and destitute of discipline. It was easy to be perceived, that Count de la Lippe had but commenced that reform, for the com-

pletion of which he had been appointed, and which would have required far more time to accomplish. However, he had rendered undeniable service to the Portuguese, he specified his object, and shewed them the way to attain it. The formation of their army was submitted to some rules, its component parts were less defective, and with care it might acquire rank among the armies of Europe; for the soldiers are no strangers to those qualities which fit them for the duties of war.

The Portuguese are robust, lively, dextrous, and although not, individually, of an advantageous exterior, yet when assembled as a body of troops, they make a very respectable appearance. They are extremely patient under difficulties, and possess a degree of sobriety unknown to any other nation but the Spaniards. There is no set of men on earth more adapted to sustain the fatigues of war. On the other hand, they are lazy and filthy, and are little accustomed to obedience: yet with attention and perseverance, the Portuguese might be rendered excellent soldiers, and even their hatred for their neighbours the

Spaniards, be turned to good account, for the exercise of their courage.*

It is a vice, inherent in the Portuguese, to hate every thing that is not of their own country, and disunion therefore prevails in the army, on account of the number of foreigners admitted into it. Further, this national aversion is excited, and in some degree, justified, by the contempt with which other nations treat the Portuguese, even when they come to make common cause with them, or to seek an asylum in their country.

The Portuguese officers are very ignorant of the science which they profess; they are not competent to instruct the soldiers, and scarcely, themselves, know the ordinary rules of discipline. Even their idea of the military regulations is very imperfect. Their pay

* The Portuguese may well be termed courageous when opposed to other enemies than the Spaniards, since they have fought together with them in the same cause. They were auxiliaries in the last war between Spain and France, and the French themselves could not refrain from doing justice to their bravery. It is true, that they had substituted for the national hatred, royal, combined with religious fanaticism. *Editor.*

is very moderate, and what is remarkable, foreign officers receive double the salary of the natives; and this is another reason for exasperating the Portuguese officers against them. The former disdain to communicate with the others, and hence the opportunity of instruction is lost.

They live retired, and in the most abject state of ignorance. Under M. de Pombal, the army, utterly neglected, was defective in every thing, and in want of every thing, but, principally, in its officers. The soldiers uninstructed, and full of superstition, were unmanageable by commanders destitute of experience, so that in 1762, when they were on the point of opening a campaign, nothing was in readiness, nor had they even officers. These however, it became absolutely necessary to procure without delay, and at whatever price they could be obtained.

M. Pinto, at that time Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal to London, became the principal recruiting officer for his country; he sent into Portugal a crowd of people of all kinds and nations, to become officers. As the Por-

tuguese stood in great need of them, they took all who offered, and among their numbers, adventurers of every sort; political incendiaries, pick-pockets, even men who had escaped the gallows, became officers with double pay, upon the slightest recommendation.

Such was the Portuguese army in 1762. The present military force, independently of the marine and colonial troops, consists of 26,000 infantry, and nearly 5000 cavalry, in 26 squadrons. There is besides, a militia of peasants, which is estimated at above 100,000 men. This militia has no pay, but their hatred of the Spaniards induces them to take up arms with transport whenever they are to fight against them. They were formerly a miserable set, but after the war of 1762, were put on a better establishment.

The Portuguese infantry consists of 26 regiments of 1200 men each, six regiments of artillery, and one corps of engineers. If the new regulations digested by the Count de la Lippe were strictly observed, Portugal might have very good soldiers, but the men are

teazed to no purpose with marching, and counter-marching, in the manual exercise, and in manœuvring, without ever being instructed in the details of an encampment. Their utter ignorance of this service, must, no doubt, be very embarrassing at the opening of a campaign.

The formation of their battalions is likewise injudicious; each of them is composed of seven companies of 114 fusileers, but they have no grenadiers, so that they cannot be broken, excepting into unequal divisions, and without producing confusion.*

* Subjoined is a slight abstract of the ideas of James Murphy, on the present state of the Portuguese army.

The military establishment of Portugal consists at present (in 1797) of 29 regiments of infantry, including 4 battalions of artillery, and a corps of engineers. The whole may be estimated at 20,000 men. The cavalry is divided into 11 regiments, making about 4000 men. The militia and the auxiliaries of the different provinces, are reckoned at 25,000 men, who in time of peace, are on half-pay.

The uniform of the infantry as well as the cavalry is a blue coat with white facings. The dress of the marines is green. The Count de la Lippe had only time to commence the reform of the Portuguese army. The misapplied œconomy of the government caused his dismissal much too soon, they

They ought also to accustom their troops to work on the fortifications, in order to familiarize them to throw intrenchments and other works, the want of which is much felt in the course of a campaign. The artillery is also very indifferently served, extremely ignorant, and ill arranged. The cannons are not well manufactured and too clumsy. The best they have come from England. There is no school for the Portuguese artists, strangers alone teach them the little they know in this way.

The nature of the ground in Portugal, renders artillery very necessary for its defence. The numerous defiles throughout the king-

should at least have given him time to asertain the extent and direction of the mountains and other natural barriers; the course of rivers, the position and strength of fortifications; to cause plans and charts to be drawn on all these points, without which it is impossible to concert a campaign upon certain data.

The Portuguese have, in this respect, a very imperfect knowledge, but it is true, that their neighbours, and natural enemies, the Spaniards, are little better. A Spanish engineer justly observed, that, since the establishment of their monarchies, neither of these powers have made a single campaign on the true principles of war. *Editor.*

dom, require only a small quantity of artillery, but well organized, and well served, to stop the progress of whole armies. The whole of the Portuguese artillery is incomplete and clumsy; their carriages are so heavy, that it is with great difficulty the cannon is moved. The corps of engineers is, perhaps, at this period, the least exceptionable of the military corps of Portugal, although, among them, are many ignorant and improper persons, whom accident rather than inclination have induced to enter into it.

In the different fortified places that I have visited, I have found several French engineers, and among them many of real merit. They were principally old officers, who had been obliged to abandon their country from unfortunate occurrences, but, after all, they had, generally, little cause to congratulate themselves on their exile: their talents only served to awaken the envy of a nation, naturally, jealous of the superiority of foreigners, and to expose them to persecution; of this there are repeated proofs.

In the different wars which the Portuguese

have waged against the Spaniards, the most able engineers have fallen the first sacrifice to the jealousy of the Portuguese generals. Moreover, every thing relating to genius and fortification in Portugal, has been neglected almost beyond conception. Is it credible, for example, that the Portuguese government has hitherto taken neither a geographical map, nor a topographical plan of the countries likely to become the theatre of war; nor of the regular fortifications, nor has any accurate knowledge of the course of their rivers, and of the many passes with which the country is, on all sides, intersected, nor any thing in fact, which is necessary for preparing the plan of a campaign?

We have already observed, that, at Lisbon, there is no foot-guard, expressly, for the royal family, unless it be a hundred halberdiers, who, six years ago were not distinguished even by uniform; they now wear a blue coat, and scarlet waistcoat, both of which are bound with gold. When the King and Queen leave the palace, they are attended by different detachments of cavalry. The uniform of the Portuguese infantry, which is copied

closely from that of the Prussians, would have, with a little more attention to cleanliness, a tolerably good appearance. The soldiers have, however, only hats, with the corners ridiculously short.* Their firelocks, their arms, every part of their equipment comes from England: it is only about seven years since that country furnished the Portuguese troops with coats, shoes, and even to their very hats, all ready made.

The Portuguese cavalry, more attended to, and better commanded, would be certainly one of the first in Europe. Most of their horses are from Andalusia, but some are from the frontiers of Biera, Portuguese Estremadura, and from Tra-los-Montes. Their horses are geldings, like those of our French cavalry, and stand sufficiently high. If it be true that cavalry, to be good, should unite solidity, order, and strength, we must say that of the Portuguese scarcely possesses half these

* These minute defects which appeared important to M. de Châtelet to point out, exist no longer. The regimental hats of the Portuguese soldiers are like our own.—See one of the plates to the volume of Portugal, just published by James Murphy. *Editor.*

requisites; but it cannot be denied to have swiftness and strength. It is not unusual to see them in their evolutions, clear hedges and ditches, whole squadrons together, which the Spanish cavalry has never been able to accomplish.

In Portugal are 12 squadrons of cuirassiers on a tolerable footing, but I very much doubt whether this corps could resist the first shock of the Spanish cavalry, as the Portuguese horses are far inferior. Each regiment of cavalry consists of 400 men, and every squadron of four companies; an arrangement which has the old inconvenience of requiring too great a number of officers, and occasioning considerable expence. It is said, that companies of regiments of cavalry which are cantoned in the provinces, produce to their captain as much as 10,000 livres a year. Those who reside at Court obtain much less, because they experience more losses, these detachments, which attend the royal family when it goes out, being always obliged to go at full speed.

In other respects, in Portugal, both the in-

fantry and cavalry are on the same footing, as to being enlisted for life. Neither the foot, nor the horse can quit the army, excepting from absolute necessity, as old age, disease, and the death of a parent, which would leave a family without support. These unhappy soldiers are in those cases sent home, without a farthing of pay, or any provision, though they may have served twenty or thirty years.

In the different villages through which I passed, I have met with peasants who, after a long service, and having been in the wars, which they proved to me by the dates and circumstances of their campaigns, have been sent back to their homes on account of old age, and were there suffered to languish in misery.

The regiments both of infantry and cavalry remain ten, and even fifteen years, in the same quarters. This custom is generally very objectionable for bodies of troops. As to the infantry, there can be no good reason for it in Portugal, but with respect to the cavalry, the scarcity of forage, and the obvious

difference between the forage of one province and another, and the loss of horses occasioned by frequent changes of food, may render this plan necessary. The pay of the cavalry is double that of the infantry.

Formerly the captains named their subaltern officers, or at least the persons whom they preferred for the inferior appointments, were always accepted: they therefore nominated creatures of their own, from whom they generally receive a pecuniary recompence; thereby raising no inconsiderable income.

It is easy to imagine what kind of officers constitute the majority who are thus admitted. They are chosen, without any attention either to their education, their morals, or their birth. By a singular inconsistency, however, the cadets who are admitted on the establishment of these corps, are obliged to produce incontestable testimonials of their noble origin, which must be approved of by the King, and by their captain. They are treated, in the corps, the same as the officers, and always mess with them. When any commissions are to be given away, these always

have the preference over other candidates who are not in the corps. Another very singular circumstance is, that there are certain regiments of infantry as well as cavalry, wherein vacancies remain for ten, twelve, and even fifteen years. Companies are often, for that length of time without a captain, and regiments without majors, or even colonels: the persons who held these commissions being either dead, or immured in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or in state prisons.

The principal military ranks, in Portugal, are generals, lieutenant-generals, and major-generals. To the time of the death of King Joseph, the principal part of commissions of this rank, were filled by foreigners. Since that time, many of them have been disgusted, and have left the service to return to their native countries; others have been dismissed, so that now their general officers are few in number. Those that remain are Portuguese noblemen, almost all without experience, and not only without military talents, but without the desire to attain them; thinking that they have fully discharged their duty to their country, by a scrupulous observance

of all the exterior ceremonies of their religion.

Their children, like themselves, are brought up in total ignorance of their real duties, and scarcely are they freed from the leading strings of a vicious education, before they contract the bonds of marriage. It were, therefore, fruitless to expect to find well-informed* men, with attachment to, and worthy of engaging in, the service of their country.

The Portuguese army has no staff, it has only of late had a major-general, and this rank was filled by a foreigner, who after many disputes, has withdrawn from Court. His functions have since been divided between two inspectors of the troops.

The Portuguese have neither military inspectors, nor commissaries: they have scarcely any regulations for subsistence and forage,

* The opinion of M. de Châtelet is much too severe upon the Portuguese nobility. He has unfortunately derived his knowledge principally from the society of M. de Pombal. The rule which he here lays down, at any rate, admits of some exceptions within our own knowledge. *Editor.*

although the neglect of their agriculture makes such an establishment more important to them than to any other nation. They are even ignorant of the use of magazines, on which account, the subsistence of their cavalry, in time of war, is very difficult and precarious. In short, as has been already said, they have not even the slightest knowledge of the topography of the country, they may be called upon to defend.

Happily for them, Nature has, herself, taken care to shelter them from invasions, and has given them neighbours, who know still less of the country, which they might endeavour to assail. The Spaniards proved this, in their war, in 1762, against Portugal. They were so ill-informed of the position of their different chains of mountains, of their defiles, and of the course of the rivers, that at that period, they wanted to penetrate the province of Beira, and cross Tra-los-Montes, to lay siege to Oporto; that is, they attempted to march their army by steep roads, which are scarcely accessible to the natives, and which travellers can never pass but by the help of mules, accustomed to this perilous track.

They were, however, commanded by a man who was competent to command, but who, on this occasion, deceived himself grossly. It was Orelly, who, without any previous knowledge of the country, entered into the heart of these inaccessible mountains, and into such narrow defiles, that on all sides a score of soldiers, and two guns, would have stopped the most numerous army.

Portugal has, too, on her frontiers, places of some strength, and, every thing considered, the conquest of the kingdom is not so easy a matter, as the Spaniards thought in 1762. The king of Spain sent 40,000 men against it. The Portuguese had, to oppose them, at the utmost, 8,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The minister, depending upon his subtle policy, and upon the treasures which were at his disposal, had so neglected the army, that when the Count de la Lippe came to take the command of it, he could only, at his first encampment at Villavicosa, reckon 5000 men, and these were without arms, ammunition, forage, and, particularly, officers.

It would not, therefore, have been a matter

of surprize, if, with such forces, the Portuguese had been obliged to throw down their arms. The English troops, which were sent to their assistance, did more harm than good. The Irish, who formed part of them, introduced irregularity, and occasioned revolt.

Jealousy, to which the Portuguese are so much disposed towards strangers, seemed rather to operate in favour of the Spaniards. The Count de la Lippe, indeed, awakened this sentiment. He was a good soldier, and a good officer. He had acquired reputation by commanding the artillery for six years in Westphalia; but he was violent. An undisciplined multitude submitted to his yoke with ill will. His orders were not carried into effect; all his plans were counteracted, and divisions arose in his little army.

By means of address, and the judicious distribution of money, Pombal, then Count d'Oyeras, overcame all these obstacles. It is said, that, by the intervention of the Queen of Portugal, he succeeded in gaining the

Queen Dowager* her mother, widow of Philip V. who had great influence with Charles III., her son, at that time King of Spain. Be that as it may, the Court of Madrid was mistaken in its calculations, and Portugal escaped the total destruction which Spain and France appeared to have meditated.

It is to be observed, that in almost every period of modern history, the Portuguese have gained great military advantages over the Spaniards, or, at least, caused them to pay dear for victory. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, John, first King of Castille, having formed the design of obtaining

* We have good ground to believe, that in reality, the Queen Dowager of Spain (the famous Isabella Farnése) had, at least, the secret wish that the expedition against Portugal should not succeed. The Duke de Crillon, who in the latter stage of this war, for some time, commanded the Spanish army, having returned to Madrid at the end of the campaign, being questioned by the Queen as to particulars, seemed to regret that it had not had a more decisive result. "What!" (cried the Queen fretfully) "would you have wished for more? Would you have dethroned my daughter?" This anecdote is on the authority of the late Duke de Crillon Mahon.

possession of the crown of Portugal, experienced, after some successes, a total defeat, in the battle of Aljubarrota, where he lost 10,000 men.

The Portuguese, in the reign of Phillip II. submitted, indeed, to the yoke of Spain, but they had ample revenge for sixty years of slavery, by so much blood shed by the Spaniards in that war, which placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne of Portugal.

In 1659, six thousand Spaniards bit the dust on the plains of Elvas. In 1661, they were obliged to retire, with the loss of two-thirds of their army. In 1663, at the battle of Estremoz, they lost 12,000, in killed and prisoners; 14,000 Spaniards were left on the field at the battle of Villavicosa, &c. These examples might have cured Spain of its contempt for the Portuguese. Before she thought of conquering their country, she ought at least, to have taken the means to put her own army on a respectable footing. She derived fresh experience from the war of 1762, will she profit by it?

The Spanish army was encamped, on the 21st of April, at Zamora, in Castile, on the Douro, near the frontiers of Tra-los-Montes. She seemed already to revel in a conquest, which was considered indisputable. The Marquis de Surria, colonel in the Spanish guards, an old infirm devotee, without talents as a general, was entrusted with the command. He had neither maps of the country, spies, nor guides, and his troops were undisciplined. No means had been taken to insure supplies of provisions. The only auxiliary corps of French commanded by the Prince de Beauveau, was extremely well provisioned to the close of the campaign.

One division of the Spanish army, however, accidentally possessed itself of the little fortified town of Miranda, which seems suspended in the air. They would have entered the province of Tra-los-Montes, but horrible defiles presented themselves, and torrents and deep rivers opposed the march of the enemy, which had neither boats nor bridges. After much time lost in constructing them, it at last advanced into this almost inaccessible country. Three towns which had no garrisons, opened

their gates. Orelly now wished to lay siege to Oporto, but three or four hundred peasants arrested his progress, and obliged him to return to Chaves, whence he had set out.

On the 21st of June, in the village of Freixel, an engagement took place, which was celebrated for success almost miraculous. An officer, named Alvarez, who commanded a Spanish detachment of 200 men, forced 300 villagers to retire. In the Madrid Gazette, these 300 men were converted into 6,000, and the officer received, through the general, the King's approbation, for having beaten 6,000 men, with a force of only 200.

The siege of Almeyda, the principal event of the campaign, began on the 4th of August; the trenches were opened without any difficulty on the 15th; the besieged fired about five or six shots. He would not, he said, have a drop of blood shed, that the Portuguese might be spared. The Spanish batteries were at first injudiciously directed against a bastion formed in the rock, and after much waste of both powder and time, it was found necessary to change the point of attack.

Notwithstanding, the Governor of Almeyda held councils of war, every instant, he wished the gates, to be opened, without delay. He was an old captain of dragoons, whose military talents consisted in wandering continually round the ramparts, and recommending himself to the Holy Virgin.

On the 23d, he told the council of war, that the breach was practicable, and that they must capitulate. Two Scottish colonels, whose regiments formed part of the garrison, undeceived him, by making him inspect the fortifications. An engineer, afterwards proposed to him the construction of some works, necessary for the defence of the place, and insisted on having workmen as soon as possible. The Governor ordered him to be put in irons, and thus deprived himself of one of his principal resources.

The Spaniards nearly kept pace with the blunders of their enemy, by their want of skill and foresight. They had placed their batteries upon an eminence of about 1800 feet, and had only injured the upper part of the parapet. But the resolution of the

foolish Governor was exhausted, the cannon of the enemy had killed but one groom, a pioneer, and four horses, and notwithstanding the town opened its gates. I have these particulars from the two Scottish officers, who are still at Almeyda, one as governor, and the other as a general officer. The governor did not send to the Court to announce the reduction of this town, till a week after the Spaniards were established in it. He was ordered home, to give an account of his conduct, and died in prison.

There were found in the place, 96 pieces of cannon, and 3600 men, capable of service, who were sent prisoners to Viseu, fifteen leagues off. The Spaniards, who had never thought of being so soon masters of Almeyda, knew not what plan to follow next. Couriers, after couriers were dispatched to Madrid. The court sent them back with orders, and thus, at the distance of 100 leagues, directed the most trifling operations of the army. It was far from satisfied with the old Marquis de Surria, and substituted M. le Comte d'Aranda, who had good military talents, but who had neither opportunity, nor means, to

apply them. The Spaniards, nevertheless, gained the banks of the Tagus, and seized the little castle of Villa-velha; and this success, although trifling, intoxicated them. They began to despise their enemy; their discipline relaxed, their vigilance was at an end.

All at once, an officer, named Hamilton, at the head of 300 Portuguese, surprized them in the night, spiked their artillery, and retired, leaving their camp, consisting of 2000 men, in the greatest disorder. Spain now began to be sensible of the impotence of her efforts, and yielding to this conviction, as well as to private suggestions, renounced a conquest, which before appeared so easy, and recalled her troops. She had sent out 40,000 men.

After a campaign of only seven months, there returned but 25,000. Few armies had undergone so much fatigue, and encountered so many dangers, with less glory. The Portuguese, whose rage was at the highest pitch, massacred the stragglers. The Spaniards had met but few occasions to signalize their courage. They were not without opportunities

of exposing their want of discipline; the country through which they passed, was laid waste by marauders.

It is not to the Spanish soldier, that the disorders and errors, which disgraced this expedition, should be imputed. He is brave, tractable, and sober. Properly officered, he would maintain a distinguished rank, in the military forces of Europe; but his officers are ill chosen, void of energy, and destitute of information.

Spain, at least, has had a proof, that her neighbours, although hateful to her, are not to be despised. Convinced that it is difficult to conquer them, why should she not connect herself with them, in alliance, by detaching them from their alliance with England, on which they are forced to rely for support. The time is, perhaps, not far distant, when this accommodation may appear desirable, by sound policy, to the two great Courts of the House of Bourbon.

If Portugal is an enemy, not to be treated with contempt, there is still much wanting to render her a beneficial ally. Her army,

defective in so many respects, has not, properly speaking, any military regulations. It has no other laws than the edicts passed at different periods, under the reign of Joseph I. which are collected in three volumes, folio, and are become extremely scarce. Military law is so uninteresting in Portugal, that these decrees have been preserved only by a few to whom they were absolutely necessary. I have never seen but one copy. It is entitled, Collenças das Leys decretos e alvaras que comprehende o Felix Reynado del Rey fidelissimo D. Joseph I. nosso Senhor.

From this species of code, they endeavour to extract the military laws, applicable to the different cases where some rule is necessary, as a precedent. It may be imagined, that the body of Portuguese officers, thus ill selected, is not held in much estimation. The Court, the people, and foreigners, care nothing about them. Their commanders use them with the most degrading severity. If one of these officers is accused of a crime, he is thrown into prison, and even before he is found guilty, is treated like the vilest criminal. Innocent or guilty, as long as his im-

prisonment lasts, he is deprived of his appointment; and is frequently suffered to languish, forgotten, six, or seven years, in a dungeon.

For these officers, so debased in public opinion, there is no prospect either of advancement, or recompence. After fifteen or twenty years service, if they are obliged to retire, on account of illness or any other cause, they are suffered to quit their regiment, without receiving either pension, or any other testimony of respect; fortunate if they have been able, in the course of their service, to escape from the trammels of persecution; particularly, if they are foreigners.

In the last century, the case of M. de Schomberg, was a striking instance of these perils. This brave officer, after having rendered essential services to the Portuguese, was suddenly forced to quit the country, to avoid falling into the hands of the Inquisition, by which he was menaced, and from whose prisons he would never have escaped alive. Notwithstanding, under the administration of Pombal, the military were less exposed to the

caprice of this dangerous tribunal, but they were the more liable to that of the minister.

At this time, when the priests reassume their influence over the royal family and the people; the holy office recommences its dreadful hostilities. A short time after my departure from Portugal, I had a proof of this, in a distressing letter which I received from an officer at Tarbes, whom I had known at Valença, a Portuguese town on the frontiers of Galicia, and who had been obliged to desert his garrison and take refuge in France, to avoid the pursuit of the Inquisition. Six of his comrades had been less fortunate; they were arrested, bound by the servants of this horrid tribunal, and conducted to its dungeons. And what was the crime alledged against these officers? It was, that they had read books which are in every body's hands. With respect to the person who escaped, he had been informed, that after his departure, he was specially accused, because among his books had been found, the works of Voltaire, the Marquis D'Argens, Montesquieu, &c. By his account, the monster of the Inquisition had lain dormant during the fifteen years which he had passed in the service of

Portugal; but after the death of Joseph I., and the resignation of the Marquis de Pombal, it revived with accumulated fury, and the officers of the garrison of Valença were the first victims of its long protracted cruelty.*

Can a service, the members of which are so little respected, and who are exposed to such dangers, have many attractions? Strangers are much to be commiserated, who, from any motive whatever, go into Portugal to solicit military employments.

A few more instances of the state of degradation in which the Portuguese officers not long ago remained, and I have done. The Count de la Lippe, when he first arrived in Portugal, was asked to dine with the Count Baron des Arcos, General of the Portuguese troops. He was already seated, when he ob-

* A few years before the rupture of Spain and Portugal with France, this horrible tribunal seemed to be again dormant, and it would have been difficult to have produced any instances of its severity. But it exists, and may revive, and during its state of inaction, it is one of the greatest scourges of Portugal, and the greatest obstacle to its improvement. *Editor.*

served behind his chair, a valet-de-chambre of the family, who was intended to wait upon him, in the dress of an officer. He soon learnt that he was a captain of cavalry in a regiment of cuirassiers, of which the General had the command, and which, at present, bears the name of Alcantara. The Count rose, and declared he would not dine, unless the officer were allowed to sit at the table: he himself placed him between him and the Count Baron, whose pride and vanity were greatly mortified by the occurrence. This beginning of the Count de la Lippe, was extremely displeasing to the nobility, who made a sort of parade of having two or three officers in their service. The other military engagements were treated with similar disregard. The Count de la Lippe combatted, without reserve, prevailing opinions of this kind, openly avowed his own, on the subject of duelling, declared that he would pardon no one, who, having failed in a point of honour, alledged the ordinances and precepts of religion in his defence, and declared, that he would ignominiously banish every officer who refused either to give or receive satisfaction. It may be easily conceived how unsatisfactory these first proceedings must have

been to a degraded people, who, combining meanness with pride, made the christian religion an excuse for cowardice; and who, violating, without scruple, the most sacred principles of that religion, believed they might, rather than revenge an affront, avail themselves of its precepts for the forgiveness of injuries.

The dismissal of the Count de la Lippe, restored the triumphant vanity of the nobility, and brought back the military profession to its former degradation. During my stay, at Lisbon, having dined with the Marquis de Zampaglio, I again perceived a cavalry officer waiting at table; but it seemed the only house in that capital where the custom was kept up.* With respect to the formation of the corps of officers, it remains unaltered, and

* This is no longer the practice at Lisbon, but it is still very common, to see chevaliers of the order of Christ attending the guests at table. These are a kind of valets-de-chambre, who, under the title of equeries, (escuderos) ride on horseback before the carriage of their master or mistress, and assist them in alighting from it. This is their principal employment, but they are not above waiting upon them in their houses, and standing during meal-time, behind their master's chair. *Editor.*

I have great reason to believe, that it can hardly become worse.

Being at table, one night, at the house of the Neapolitan minister, I entered into conversation with one of the highest Portuguese nobles, who questioned me much on the opinion I had formed of his country. Good breeding induced me to conceal some part of my thoughts on the subject. You are a military man, (said he) what is your opinion of our army? You will, no doubt, do it justice; it is, fortunately, on a very respectable footing, and much better organized than it has ever been. We receive no officers who have not talents, as well as experience, to recommend them. We really have many of considerable merit amongst us. What was my astonishment, when, a few days after this conversation I learnt, that this very nobleman had been soliciting, a foreign colonel in the service of Portugal, to give to some one for whom he was interested, a company in his regiment; that the colonel wishing to oblige him, asked him, however, in the course of conversation, who was the person in question, to whom he belonged, and of what family he was? To this the illustrious protector answered, I know

him well, and will answer for his probity, he is a man well deserving of this small recompence, he has been been my valet-de-chambre these one and-twenty-years.

In the inn where I put up, was a Portuguese major, whose servant was a lieutentant in his regiment. One day, as I was going out, I observed a captain give a small parcel to my servant; I asked him what was in it? It was my silk stockings, which, the wife of this captain washed, and which he, himself, brought, whenever he came for those that were dirty. From the selection of officers, we may easily conceive what the soldiers must be!

More than twenty times have I been assailed by sentinels, who, with much importunity, pressed me for alms.* The soldiers are neither

* The corps of officers has not been composed of more respectable individuals since the time of M. de Châtelet, and the soldiers are neither better chosen, nor more strictly watched. The sentinels, indeed, do not ask alms, but there is before each barrack an image of the Virgin, and all those who pass, are piously invited to give something for the souls in purgatory, which comes to nearly the same thing. Al-

restrained by discipline, nor watched in the slightest manner: lodged in poor wooden barracks, they escape, in the night, without difficulty, and commit all kinds of excesses in the towns. It is very dangerous to meet them, for it is not at all uncommon for them to ask for charity with a knife in their hands. Such was the wretched state of the Portuguese army, when I left Lisbon in the year 1778, and nothing seemed to promise a chance of improvement. Portugal has no public school for military instruction. The young men never travel, and are very imperfectly acquainted with their own country. M. de Pombal had established a college for the nobility, to support which, the revenues of the expelled Jesuits were appropriated; but this establishment is ill conducted: there is no incentive to emulation among the pupils, and consequently no improvement.*

most all the robberies are perpetrated by the soldiers, and, particularly, by the sailors. More than one third of those who are imprisoned for such offences, belong to either one or other of these classes. The greatest part of the infantry barracks are, at this time, in Lisbon, crazy buildings which the rain penetrates on all sides. Those appropriated to cavalry are a little better. *Editor.*

* In a work, entitled, Picture of Lisbon, published less than two years since, is the following article relative to this college of nobles.

"It is reduced to a mere boarding school, where young men are educated at the expence of their parents. The poorer nobility are excluded because they have no money to pay with, and the citizens are admitted when they are able to defray the necessary charges. The annual charge is 120 reas, about 15*l.* a year. In 1793, there were 38 boarders. This establishment is directed by a governor and vice governor. There are eight masters to teach reading and writing, Latin, Greek, and French, rhetoric, architecture, drawing, and history; one master for the violin; a dancing, and a fencing master. These various masters being sparingly paid, are, consequently, very indifferent. The education they give is commensurate with their talents."

Although the author of the Picture of Lisbon makes it his principal object to disparage every thing relating to that capital, which he paints in the most unfavourable colours, it must be acknowledged, that what he gives in detail, he seems to have examined carefully. He gives the following account of the Portuguese army, as it was, at the time, when she united with Spain, in the war, against the French republic.

"Twenty-nine regiments of infantry, and 10 regiments of cavalry, or dragoons, compose the army of Portugal. It amounts, when complete, to about 30,000 men, including 104 colonels, 150 majors actually serving, retired, or only breveted. The corps of engineers is composed of 98 officers; 10 colonels, 13 lieutenant colonels, 18 majors, 33 captains, and 24 lieutenants. The staff of this army comprehends 42 general officers, one marshal-general, one general of cavalry, one of artillery, three inspectors-general of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, eight lieutenant-generals, and 28 major-generals. The rank of brigadier was suppressed the 15th of December, 1790." *Editor.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The Navy.

THE navy of Portugal was in a very flourishing state in the reign of John I. it had schools of very great celebrity, and, in one of them, Christopher Columbus brought his talents to perfection. In the same reign, the Portuguese were considered the first navigators of their time, and Portugal was one of the highest of the maritime powers. In 1415, King John I. embarked on an expedition against the Moors; his fleet consisted of 33 ships of the line, 59 gallies, and 110 transports. Since that period, the Portuguese navy has experienced many revolutions, as well disastrous, as favourable, according to the ability of the prime ministers.

John III. who was contemporary with Charles V. paid much attention to maritime

affairs; under this reign 20 ships of the line, and four large gallies, were always in commission, to protect the coasts of the kingdom, and to convoy the rich fleets which were on their return from the colonies; without reckoning the many small squadrons stationed on the coasts of India and China. But when the Duke of Braganza, under the title of John IV., acceded to the throne of Portugal, he could, scarcely, find one vessel which had escaped the destructive jealousy of the Spaniards. The navy was almost annihilated, the arsenals were empty, and falling to ruins.

It, in some degree, revived in the reign of Don Pedro II. at the end of the last century; but, under John V. his successor, it fell again into decay. A deplorable event, not entirely attributable to accident and the fury of the winds, brought tremendous destruction on the commercial fleets of Portugal: 180 of her ships, which were moored in the Tagus, before Lisbon, were destroyed by so dreadful a tempest as there are few examples of. The navy also suffered materially; it was then reduced to five or six disabled ships, and seven or eight frigates, in a most miserable state, without offi-

cers, marines, or sailors. Carvalho, afterwards Marquis de Pombal, became soon after, minister: his attention was directed to the re-establishment of the navy. He called to the assistance of his unfortunate country, the Swedes, Dutch, Danes, and, in particular, the English and French, to instruct, in navigation and ship-building, those who, during the two preceding centuries, had been sovereign of the ocean, and who had immortalized themselves, by the most extensive and glorious discoveries. In a few years, the Portuguese navy felt the influence of the regenerating power of Carvalho. It now consists of 10 sail of the line, and 20 frigates, all built with the excellent wood, which Portugal derives from Brasil.*

The Portuguese have, hardly, any merchant ships, unless it be those which they obtain from abroad, because wood is so, extremely, scarce in their country, that they have nothing to burn but deal. Notwithstanding this, when I went to Oporto, I saw three or four ships

* Portugal, at present, has 13 ships of the line, and 15 frigates. According to Murphy, the art of ship-building is brought to great perfection in this kingdom. *Editor.*

ready to sail for India, built according to the English method. The Marquis de Pombal was removed from the administration too soon, for the complete restoration of the navy, as well as for that of other departments. He had issued several decrees, the salutary effects of which began to be felt, when he retired. He had, in particular, taken such measures, that the Portuguese, reduced to purchasing such ships as were brought into the port of Lisbon, were, at least, obliged to buy only those which were worth it.

There are, also, vessels devoted to the protection of the coasts: these are maintained by the payment of a duty of 3 per cent. on the importation, and five per cent. on the exportation of every kind of merchandize.

Portugal, still less than any other maritime power, can dispense with a navy, for the protection of her commerce: how, otherwise, could she restrain the Morocco corsairs, or, especially, those of Salee, which are, in this species of hostility, unrivalled. The Emperor of Morocco has established cruizers near the Cape de Verd Islands, the Canaries, the

Azores, and Madeira, and these cruizers are very formidable, particularly, to the vessels returning from Brazil, since the commercial companies were abolished, and foreign trading expeditions are not convoyed by ships of war.

The Portuguese are good sailors, and shew much skill in the management of a vessel; but they must be kept to work, by peremptory orders, for they are very idle, and require, more than any others, to have able commanders, of whom they are, certainly, very deficient. Few naval officers are more aukward, more ignorant, and less experienced, than the Portuguese; nothing can be more ridiculous, to a person who understands the business, than observing their manœuvres. The best Portuguese pilots are those who have been brought up in the fishing boats, which are so numerous on the coasts of Portugal.

The merchant navy is in a perhaps still more deplorable state. It hardly consists of 100 ships. The indolent Portuguese find, indeed, very active agents in the English, who, by having become their factors, have deprived them of almost every branch of their maritime trade; and this is another circumstance which

reduces Portugal to absolute dependence on her haughty allies; should she ever shake off their yoke, she must resort to some other nation for assistance. With such numerous and distant possessions, how can she alone furnish the immense navy which such extensive relations require? But, whatever nation might undertake to make good the deficiency of the imbecility of Portugal, none would, with such activity and success as England, encourage the torpor which pervades almost every branch of the Portuguese government. The courageous effort which would be requisite to free them from the toils of the English, would undoubtedly be productive of efforts for the restoration of their commercial establishment, and bring back those glorious periods of Portugal, which have vanished like a dream.*

* The navy of Portugal, at present, consists of two lieutenant-generals, or vice-admirals, or three rear-admirals. She has, besides, as many commodores as ships of the line; eight captains of ships, eleven captains of frigates, thirty-three captain-lieutenants, twenty-two first-lieutenants, and twenty-two second lieutenants.

The following, according to Murphy, was the pay of the different ranks of the Portuguese navy in 1789.

	Reas	£.
The vice-admiral per month when in employ	400,000	about 2200
The rear-admiral	200,000	
The commodore	100,000	
The post captain	45,000	
Captain of a frigate	36,000	
Captain-lieutenant	30,000	
First-lieutenant	15,000	
Second-lieutenant	12,000	

When the officers of the four first ranks are not on actual service, their pay is reduced to half. Under similar circumstances, that of the others is diminished but one-third. The pay of the mate is at all times 3000 reas per month. *Editor.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Imposts, and Finances.

EUROPE contains few countries where the imposts are worse laid than in Portugal. The theory of the subject is quite in its infancy. All the abuses, common to the most indifferent governments, and many exclusively appertaining to this kingdom, which is unfortunately distinguished for pernicious institutions, are prevalent in it.

Besides, these imposts press, in a most destructive manner, upon agriculture; and the injurious measures, taken by the government, for the subsistence of the kingdom, have been yet more ruinous than the duties themselves. Was it not, for instance, a most impolitic tax on the farmers, when English corn was so favoured, as to enable the dealers to dispose of it in Portugal, at a lower price than

the corn of the country? Was it not condemning the labourer to idleness and penury? They endeavoured to remedy this by increasing the tax on the poor labourer, thereby thinking he would be forced to work as the only means of paying the accumulated imposts. What has been the consequence? A great proportion of the land remained uncultivated, many of the proprietors were ruined, and the revenue, disappointed in its avarice, obtained less than before.

Another circumstance, which does not bear less, than the esablished imposts, upon the Portuguese, is the load of taxes, voluntary, in some measure, but yet very burthensome; which he is necessitated to pay to the church for marriages, baptism, confession, education of children, pious foundations, funeral-service, processions, flambeaux, tapers, the building and ornamenting of churches, and, above all, for tithes; without any benefit to the State, and which, contribute only to the maintenance of voluptuous indolence.

The numerous festivals, is another source of calamity to the Portuguese. They might,

without the least injury to religion, be reduced more than two-thirds. A very simple calculation will prove the mischief, resulting from them, to agriculture and industry. The population of Portugal may be taken at two millions, twelve hundred, and twenty-five thousand souls.*

Suppose, which will not seem any exaggeration, that of this number, 200,000 are absolutely forced to daily labour for their subsstence, the wages, per day, being about five-pence or six-pence. There is no festival in Portugal, which does not cost the nation about five thousand pounds, which, divided among those with whom they might have been laid out, would have gone, a great way, towards the payment of their imposts.

There is another method of assisting this people, oppressed by festivals, and imposts, viz. by laying a contribution on the Portuguese clergy, who are, beyond all compa-

* An academician of Lisbon, in 1789, endeavoured to shew, by very plausible estimates, that Portugal contained, at least, three millions and a half of inhabitants. *Editor.*

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rison, the richest body in the kingdom; and if the superstitious respect, for this privileged class, and the fear which it inspires, still prevents the government, as formerly, from subjecting it to direct imposts, or, at least, from demanding of them, as in France, gratuitous donations, (and in the propriety of this, many enlightened Portuguese, to whom I have mentioned it, have concurred), they might be subjected to the expence of re-establishing the navy, founding certain manufactories, and the education of youth. Every other attempt to derive advantage from their immense wealth, would be dangerous to the Portuguese government.

Pombal himself, with all his boldness, which braved dangers, and overcame all obstacles: Pombal, who, in common with the most enlightened philosophers of Europe, was disgusted with their scandalous opulence, never dared to make a direct attack upon it. He endeavoured, by secret means, to undermine the authority of the clergy, without offending the fanatical prejudices of the people.

Under pretence of giving to the priests

and monks, liberty, honourable to themselves, he encouraged them to renounce their retired life, and enter into the worldly amusements, confident, that they would avail themselves of this privilege, in a way, injurious to their character. Then were seen the superiors of monasteries, priors, sub-priors, and common monks, leave their cells for eight or ten months, to live with their relations, and, shortly, give themselves up to a licentious life, appearing at public exhibitions, and visiting haunts of a still more suspicious kind.

The people, already, began to murmur at their excesses, and the prejudice which prevailed before, began to die away, when on the death of Joseph I., the face of things was entirely changed. The scruples of the, then Queen, could not endure the scandal, to which the monks gave rise, and the consequent disgrace, which religion experienced. She sent them all, without exception, back to their monasteries, and expressly forbade their quitting them.

Many of these priors, whose irregularities had become public, were shut up in the pri-

sons of their order. This was naturally to be expected from a wise and pious Princess; but the bold projects of the Marquis de Pombal, were thus counteracted. The Priests, and Monks, have been restored to their rules, but at the same time, they have recovered their authority, and immunities, and the inviolability of their property, has become, more than ever, a sacred dogma.

The nature of the imports, and the manner of levying them, is not less oppressive to the Portuguese, than the sums they have to pay. Instead of being chargeable on the superfluities, they bear on the necessaries of life; thus having a radical objection before them, at their meals.

The imposts on land are equal throughout, notwithstanding the different quality of the soil. How, for example, can the inhabitants of the almost barbarous province of Tra-los-Montes, pay the same duty, which is paid by the people of Alentejo, when there is such a great inequality in the produce of the soil of the two provinces?

The collection of the taxes, is another abundant source of public vexation. It is entrusted to a crowd of commissioners who torment the unhappy contributors. Every new impost, creates a new set of commissioners. They have not yet learnt, in Portugal, that, when it is necessary to augment the public revenue, it is wiser to increase an existing, than to lay a new duty;* that, by a contrary method, they increase the expences of collecting, and those vexations, which render a government odious.

From what we have already said on the imposts, and on the state of agriculture, industry, and commerce, it is easy to anticipate the condition of the finances of Portugal. We cannot make a better display of the intimate relations which unite these different

* M. de Châtelet removes this difficulty, like a man little versed in political economy. It, at least, was worthy discussion; and perhaps, it would be discovered, that thus coming at once to the grand scheme of a single duty, which would probably succeed very ill, with a nation overwhelmed by ignorance and harassed with prejudices, it would be far better to multiply the number of trifling rates, than to establish one only, as a substitute for all the rest, the weight of which would appear insupportable. *Editor.*

branches of the administration of a state, and the impossibility of having a good system of finance in a country, where industry and commerce are neglected, than by ranscribing in this place, the sentiments of a most enlightened man on this subject.*

"The principle of self-preservation, has invited commerce to its aid; plenty has followed commerce, and men have followed money, as the equivalent, and frequently the measure, of all things. Legislators have discovered a new source of glory, much more solid, since it is founded on human happiness, and a new kind of power, the acquisition of which is infinitely more skilful, since, without being prodigal, either of the people, or their wealth, they can, by such means, augment their influence, and importance, in public affairs. The wealth of the people, necessarily becomes the pledge of that of the Sovereign, and finance, or the art of assigning, discovering, and afterwards, distributing the portion of interest, monarchs have in the

* M. de Châtelet, has not thought proper to name this enlightened man, nor do we know whom he means. *Editor.*

public case, has always experienced the same revolutions as commerce itself."

"These two branches of the interior administration of empires, form the basis of all political speculation, and the study of them, is the principal occupation of a real statesman."

"Without commerce, men will want employment, and conveniences, and neither be subject nor tributary, and without finances, the protection of the Sovereign, will be wanting to commerce; and the nascent industry of a nation be exposed to the ambitious rivalship of foreign competitors."

The unskilfulness of the Portuguese Ministers, in the last century, had reduced their finances to a deplorable condition. When John V., ascended the throne in 1706, the public revenues amounted to twenty-eight millions of crusades, (from 2,335,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.*) but they were not nearly adequate to discharge the expences of government. There was then no regular method of collecting them; they were, besides, received by a great

number of officers, from whom they were distributed to a variety of persons, who applied them according to no fixed plan, subject only to their own caprice. Thence arose, a source of prodigality and fraud.

Under this reign too, the clergy, already so opulent by the interposition of the Holy See, obtained new emoluments. John V. acquired the establishment of the patriarchate of Lisbon. It became necessary to make endowments suitable to this new dignity, and, at the expence of the state, to surround it with an effulgence, which superstition conceives to be indispensable to religion and her ministers. The pope on this occasion was prodigal of his indulgences, which were very dearly purchased. At last John V* consistently with his pliant character,

* King John V. possessed a singular kind of liberality. He permitted every individual to approach his throne, and distributed his favours, with more profusion than discernment. He was seated under a canopy near a table, on which was a basket full of gold, whence he supplied the necessitous. Both active and severe, when he had any orders which required prompt execution, he committed them to one of the grandees of the kingdom, whom he commanded to appear before him. His audiences excited the fear of those, whose

loaded, with presents and pretensions, a crowd of drones who had no other pretensions than the services of their ancestors. So many drains and dilapidations, occasioned immense debts to be incurred, under this sovereign, which were paid, in a great degree, by his successor, for under Joseph I., who came to the throne in 1750, the finances of Portugal assumed an entirely new form. Carvalho applied, in this department of administration, the inflexible severity for which he was distinguished. Joseph I., some months after his elevation, had occasion only for 50,000 crusades, for some embellishments at his palace at Salvatierra: it was not in his treasury, and his minister was reduced to borrow it of the Lisbon merchants. He soon felt the necessity of effecting a radical reform in the finances. He began by forming an office of finance, of which he himself was inspector general, a title, which, in his hands, was not purely honorary, and of which he punctually fulfilled the duties, until he re-

conduct was reprehensible. He excited terror even in his ministers, and he was acquainted with every thing which passed in his dominions, because, he permitted every individual to give him information. *Editor.*

tired. The finances were, henceforward, administered with so much regularity, that the public revenues, when I was in Portugal, were more than 40 millions of crusades, not half of which was expended, notwithstanding the expense of building a new city, of many public works, and the support of an army, which, at different periods, consisted of from thirty-six to forty thousand men.

It is true, that he retrenched many useless expences, and he reduced almost to nothing, the charges of the patriarchate, which was before one of the principal objects of the pious liberality of the court. A great number of convents, were no longer to be paid. He considerably diminished the expences, incurred by the connection with the holy see. He suppressed, annually, many pensions and offices, the revenues of which, he, with a parsimonious hand, applied to those, who, by their personal services, appeared to him deserving the royal favor.

The Marquis de Pombal, had to reform these, and many other abuses, especially those, which took money out of the kingdom without a return. The English, as is well known,

drained it in every way. Their shipping, which carried on the whole commerce of Portugal, was both freighted and supported by it. They derived, almost exclusively, the whole profit of the commission on the sale of their commodities, they came, even into Lisbon itself, to levy this contribution upon Portuguese indolence. By them was every article of luxury imported; they purchased, in larger quantities, the wool of the country, and returned it manufactured, with a profit of 400 per cent. Nearly, in the same manner, they trafficked in silk and cotton. Portugal received from them, all sorts of clock and watch work, and hardware, and even iron wrought in England was bought there, at four or five times its real value.

The difference between the two countries, in respect to the interest of money, was another source of draining the Portuguese. This interest was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in England, when it was 10 per cent. in Portugal.

The credit given by twenty English individuals, would, alone, have been enough to impoverish Portugal. Fifty millions, borrow-

ed on the London Exchange, and afterwards negotiated on that of Lisbon, occasioned an immense sum to leave the country, annually. Every ten years, the capital of the debt was paid by the amount of interest, and the debt still remained.

English individuals augmented all these disadvantages, from one nation to another: they flocked to a country, where so many fortunes were acquired, to the prejudice of the natives; they were commonly the most dexterous and mercenary, without being the most honest. They added to the number of parasitical consumers, without any addition to the stock to be consumed.

The English, active and industrious in their own country, were, in Portugal, little better than sluggards, who, destitute of talents and industry, came to enrich themselves at the expense of their hosts: to complete the mischief, the packets from Falmouth, on every return, smuggled the specie out of the country.

Such were the principal abuses, which the Marquis de Pombal had to correct. In some respects

his endeavours succeeded. He promoted industry, established manufactures, searched the packets, and restored the navy and merchant ships. However, his efforts were not sufficient to prevent Portugal feeling, under his administration, the old causes which tended to her debasement. The destruction that the terrific earthquake of 1756 had occasioned this devoted country was a permanent evil, and was followed by numerous bankruptcies; and the short, but expensive war, which broke out, seven years afterwards, gave another blow to the finances of Portugal. But, according to the Portuguese, always disposed to exaggerate whatever concerns their country, their public treasury is full of gold and diamonds, the empire is rich, the revenues are immense ;* assertions very difficult to reconcile with the condi-

* It may appear extraordinary, that it is almost impossible to make a correct estimate of any of these revenues. The author scarcely hazards any conjecture upon this subject, and Murphy, who wrote twenty years afterwards, says, there are various opinions as to the revenue of the crown: some value it at three, others at four millions sterling; and, without undertaking to say which is right of these two very different calculations, he contents himself with observing, that the revenue has been considerably increased of late years, by

tion to which were, and still are, reduced; the agriculture, industry, commerce, and navy of the country, notwithstanding all the exertions of M. de Pombal. We may, however, be certain, that even, under his active and fostering administration, the circulating medium was very inconsiderable. On an average taken in 1754, it does not exceed 625,000*l.* of money, ill coined, and with an improper portion of alloy. Towards the end of that year, Joseph I. was well known to have borrowed four hundred thousand crowns, and that, at that time, he owed fifty millions to the English.

We must not include in this account, the large quantity of diamonds that Brasil supplies, or can supply, to Portugal. These are dead riches

additional duties on foreign merchandize, by the establishment of some commercial companies, and by the improvements in the trade and manufactures of the country. Considering these several advantages, and admitting that the revenues of Portugal were in 1705 nearly two millions and a half, and that M. de Pombal made an addition to them of a million and a half, they may now be said to be four millions, which is not very far from the estimate made by Murphy himself. *Editor.*

incapable of circulation, and which lose their value whenever they become too common, as must be the case, if Portugal were obliged to avail itself of them as a resource; for, to preserve diamonds at their present value, the weight and size is determined, and all exceeding these proportions, are seized, and confiscated to the sovereign. Those persons in whose possession they are found, not only suffer the confiscation, but pay a heavy fine. Topazes, the precious stones which the Portuguese import from Brasil, in the greatest abundance, are always sufficiently rare to preserve the same value.*

* A Dutch house, which has long been established in Lisbon, that of Gildemester, has made a contract with the court, for all the diamonds from Brasil, which the court is willing to put in circulation. They are sent exactly as they come from the mines. The Dutch house takes, from the boxes in which they are imported, all those of the weight and dimensions fixed in the contract, and transmits them to Holland, to be cut; for the art of cutting precious stones is as much behind hand in Portugal, as are all others. The stones that the house of Gildemester leave, are deposited, in a rough state, in the coffers of the Queen, where they almost all remain unaltered. It is in this sense, that it may be said, that the coffers of the sovereign are full of precious stones; but, it is easily to be perceived, to what a low rate these would be reduced, if they were all thrown into circulation. We may

One of the most ruinous abuses which M. de Pombal had to reform, was the employment of about two-and-twenty thousand clerks, who were crowded into the councils and tribunals, and cost the state very dear, for their appointments, and the people by their oppressions. Pombal had the hardihood to reduce this devouring army to thirty-two persons. All the rest were dismissed, in 1761, by a single edict. He only continued those, who, on account of their talents, and moral virtues, might be rendered useful to the state.

This minister also simplified the receipt and payment of the public money. He established the use of accounts, similar to those used by merchants; he examined them every week,

judge of the value, by the topazes, which are as common, in Lisbon, as imitations are elsewhere; and which, on that account, are at a very moderate price. It is not unusual to see men, in other respects not opulent, wearing buckles, snuff-boxes, and other ornaments, made of topazes, and astonishing, by this semblance of luxury, those who are unacquainted with the facility of procuring them. The white diamonds, in Brasil, are not reduced to so low an ebb. The Queen and royal family keep the most beautiful for their own wear, but even the best of them, in brilliancy and water, are much inferior to those of India. *Editor.*

and in concert with the King, checked and signed the accounts which they contained. This was a troublesome duty, to which it is scarcely possible to suppose M. de Pombal would have submitted, under the variety of occupations, in which, his comprehensive administration engaged him.*

I have found it impossible to ascertain, exactly, the public debts of Portugal. I could only collect a vague statement on this subject. Some of them informed me, that the King was indebted to his subjects twelve millions of crusades; others asserted, that his debts amounted

* This minister, so extraordinary in many respects, had a degree of laborious application, which can scarcely be surpassed. He did almost every thing with his own hand, and carried this attention to the most minute objects. He has been seen correcting, or, at least, dictating, permits for post-horses. He himself compiled memoirs on the objects of public administration and exterior policy. Portugal having, during his ministry, some concerns in which the rest of Europe was interested, such as the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the entire abolition of that famous order, he communicated, at great length, to the courts interested, his views on each new incident which would occur; and more than one European cabinet has been frequently tired out with his inexhaustible fecundity. *Editor.*

at least to fifteen; I should be inclined to think them much more considerable. I have been enabled to judge, from the inattention of the late King to the payment of even the most pressing of his debts; since, after his death, all the servants of his household laid claim to four or five years' wages. I have more than once heard murmurs, and, even, very disrespectful expressions, indulged in, on this occasion.

With respect to the revenues of Portugal, the same uncertainty exists. Some estimate them at 2500,000*l.*; others, at nearly 3,400,800*l.*: the only subject on which they agree is the produce of the mines of America: they are valued at 2,500,000*l.* per annum; but very far short of this sum is appropriated to the treasury, for the greater part of it is devoted to the payment of the balance due from Portugal to foreign nations, particularly to England.

As to the Portuguese specie, we will not waste our time in learned examinations, as to the period when it was first coined. It will be sufficient to observe, that in early days they reckoned in Portugal by livres, and that they

then had only silver and copper money, in small quantities. When I went to Coimbra, I was, there, shewn the ruins of an old building, which they said was the place where the coinage was carried on, when the court was held at that town. It is pretended that the first money was coined at Oporto: it had, on the reverse, the arms of the city, two towers, with a river running at their base. As there was, at that time, no workman in the kingdom capable of this undertaking, recourse was, necessarily, had to foreigners, who were introduced, and they enjoyed considerable emoluments and privileges. Under the reign of Peter I., surnamed the Cruel, or the Severe, who, in 1357, united the crowns of Portugal and Spain, there were many coinages, particularly, doubloons of gold, which were almost without alloy. On these pieces, the king was represented on his throne, holding a drawn sword, with the following legend: "*Peter, King of Portugal and Algarve. God protect me, and enable me to conquer my enemies.*" The most ancient coin, which has been preserved in Portugal, is of the end of the twelfth century: it is a piece of gold of the value of five hundred reas. Sixty of these pieces are of the value of one mark. This

coin represents Sancho I. on horseback, and armed; and, on the reverse, a cross with four stars, surrounded by these words abbreviated: "*In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.*"

This money was in circulation, until the fourteenth century, at least there is no other to be found, from the time of Sancho I. till that of Alphonso IV. This last monarch ordered a silver coinage, now the most ancient in Portugal: some are marked L, and the others P, to indicate that the first were coined at Lisbon, and the others at Oporto. There is no effigy of the Prince, but over his name is a crown, with this legend, which is also put on the reverse: *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* This piece, according to its actual value, may be worth about forty-nine reas.

When, in 1456, Alphonso V. had accepted the Bull, by which Pius II. invited all the states of Europe to arm themselves against the Turks, and had made a vow to proceed with his army to the Holy Land, he ordered a coin to be struck, of gold of a better quality, for the

use of the crusaders, and added two grains more to it than was customary with the other coins of Christendom. They called this money cruzada, on account of the manner in which it was employed. On one side is represented the cross of St. George, with this inscription: "*Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*" On the reverse, is an escutcheon, with the arms of the king, placed on a cross of the military order of Avis, and bearing this inscription: "*Cruzatus Alphonsi quinti regis.*"

The Portuguese have preserved the name of *cruzado,* in English, crusade, which is still the most common of their coins: of this there are two kinds; the old crusade *(cruzado velha)* and the new *(cruzado nova)*; the first is worth four hundred reas (something less than two shillings); the second, four hundred and eighty reas. In reckoning by crusades, which is the usual method in Portugal, they always understand the first sort: the old crusades are of gold; the new crusades are some of gold and some of silver.

The largest pieces of money which have been coined at Lisbon, were struck in the reign of

Emanuel, under the name of Portugaises; they were made of Asiatic gold, each of them of the value of five hundred ducats.

The largest gold coins, at present, current in Portugal, are the doubloons, which are worth 24,000 reas: the smallest is the crusade.

Among the silver coins, there are none of a higher value than four hundred and eighty reas, the new crusade, nor of a lower value than twenty reas: these are called vintem.

There are four kinds of copper coin: the largest is that of ten reas, the smallest one reas and a half: the reas itself, which is worth about a farthing, is only an imaginary coin.

The new gold coinage is all done at Brasil, at the mines. Gold, either in ingots or dust, is contraband in Portugal: it is forbidden, on pain of death, to import it from Brasil, and this law is enforced with the utmost rigour.

CHAPTER XV.

Science and Literature.

WERE we to form an opinion of what Portugal formerly was, in regard to knowledge, by what she now is, we should be grossly mistaken.

In the history of this kingdom, we see that, in 1269, science was already much respected, even by the sovereign, Alphonso III., who then reigned, inviting many masters, from France, to give a proper education to his eldest son.

Denis I., his son and successor, himself fostered science and literature, and employed all his exertions to make them flourish. They assert that he was the first who introduced rhyme into Portuguese poetry, by which he acquired the name of Father of the Portuguese Muses. Until this time, the names of Doctor, Master, and Bachelor, were unknown

to them. Youth was almost without the means of instruction. To the priests of the cathedral, they were indebted for the first rudiments of the Latin language, and for a smattering of philosophy. To him, is Portugal indebted for the first establishment of public schools. He founded the college of Lisbon; and Coimbra, the principal university of the country, owes its origin to him. There is an university at Evora, established in 1553; but that of Coimbra, alone, deserves notice, and even that falls very far short of its reputed celebrity. I found it, on the contrary, in a most deplorable condition. When I visited the division appropriated to the classes of astronomy, I wished to see the instruments adapted to them; they were covered with rust and dirt; doubtless, many years have elapsed since they have been used. I, afterwards, went through the grand and splendid apartment for the library: it wanted nothing but books; and, notwithstanding, the university of Coimbra, in the fifteenth century, had been an object of the peculiar attention of some of the sovereigns of Portugal. Edward I., who died in 1438, spared no expence for the advancement of literature; he is said to have culti-

vated it, in his own person, and has even left two works, of considerable merit, for that age, behind him: the one is on Fidelity and Friendship, and the other on the Administration of Justice. They also attribute to him a third on Politics.

His son, Alphonso V. formed a library for the university of Coimbra, which afterwards became very extensive and opulent; but it was destroyed, by the earthquake, in 1755. At that time, a great number of valuable books was lost, and have not been replaced.

The reign of John III. was also extremely favourable to literature. This monarch deemed it one of the principal means of adding to the embellishment and prosperity of a state.

In the reign of his successor, the unfortunate Sebastian, appeared the celebrated Camoens, of whom the Portuguese have reason to be proud. All Europe is acquainted with his principal work, the Lusiad, the subject of which is, the expedition of Vasco Gama to the East Indies. Even foreigners do justice to this poem; which, although extremely unequal, it is true, and full

of extravagant and incoherent, but at the same time brilliant, images, is replete with passages which would do credit to the greatest epic poets of the most enlightened nations. Who has not dwelt with admiration on his famous episode of "the Cape of Storms?" nor, though less known, another passage, still more worthy of admiration: that where Camoens describes Inès de Castro, at the moment of separation from her children, to suffer death? We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the pathetic and sublime passage, which the Portuguese poet puts into the mouth of this unhappy mother, from Mickle's version:

———O, Monarch, hear!
If e'er, to thee, the name of man was dear;
If prowling tigers, or the wolf's wild brood,
Inspir'd by nature with the lust of blood,
Have yet been mov'd, the weeping babe to spare,
Nor left, but tended with a nurse's care.
As Rome's great founders to the world were giv'n,
Shalt thou, who wear'st the sacred stamp of heav'n,
The human form divine, shalt thou deny
That aid, that pity, which e'en beasts supply?
Oh! that thy heart were, as thy looks declare,
Of human mould! superfluous were my prayer!
Thou could'st not, then, a hapless damsel slay,
Whose sole offence in fond affection lay;

In faith to him who first his love confest,
Who first, to love, allur'd her virgin breast.
In these, my babes, shalt thou thine image see,
And still, tremendous, hurl thy rage on me!
Me, for their sakes, if, yet, thou wilt not spare,
Oh! let these infants prove thy pious care!
Yet pity, lenient current, ever flows
From that brave breast where genuine valour glows;
That thou art brave, let vanquish'd Afric tell!
Then, let thy pity, e're mine anguish, swell!
Ah! let my woes, unconscious of a crime,
Procure mine exile to some barbarous clime:
Give me, to wander o'er the burning plains
Of Lybia's deserts, or the wild domains
Of Scythia's snow-clad rocks and frozen shore:
There let me, hopeless of return, deplore!
Where ghastly horror fills the dreary vale,
Where shrieks and howlings die on every gale,
The lions roaring, and the tigers yell,
There, with mine infant race, consign'd to dwell,
There let me try, that piety, to find,
In vain, by me, implor'd from human kind:
There, in some dreary cavern's rocky womb,
Amid the horrors of sepulchral gloom,
For him, whose love I mourn, my love shall glow,
The sigh shall murmur, and the tear shall flow:
All my fond wish, and all my hope, to rear
These infant pledges of a love so dear:
Amidst my griefs, a soothing, glad, employ:
Amidst my fears, a woful, hopeless, joy.

At Coimbra is still seen the house inhabited

by Inès de Castro, previous to her marriage with the Infant Don Pedro; the fountain, on whose banks, she used to weep, the stream whose current, conveyed her letters to her lover. This brook crossed the garden of Don Pedro, who stopped, in their course, by means of a grating, fixed, for the occasion, the dear pledges of Inès' love. It is impossible to contemplate, without emotion, these mute witnesses of their unhappy affection; and the delightful country round Coimbra, placed upon an eminence on the shores of the Montego, in a most picturesque situation, adds further to the charms, which the recollection of these objects excites.

But to return to the university of Coimbra. It consists of a rector, six professors of theology, six of canon law, ten of civil law, three of medicine, and two of mathematics. With this scientific exterior, who would not imagine that it must contain, and bring forward, many learned men. But it is a proof, like all other institutions of that kind, of the decline of Portugal. The kings have loaded it with prerogatives. Among other rights it possesses that of naming two canons, in every episcopal

church of the kingdom, and four in that of Coimbra; and, as might reasonably be expected, in the distribution of places at its disposal, its own professors are not forgotten. The canonships are given to those who profess theology and canon law; and they are more frequently the recompense of idleness, than the reward of merit. The university of Coimbra seems to have lain dormant since its production of Camoens.*

* Camoens has also left behind him a great number of poetical pieces, but which do not add to his reputation. His character is delineated in his works. He was brave, but unfortunate. He was one among those who united a warlike genius with intellectual talents. He lost an eye in a naval engagement with the Moors, and went through a multitude of adventures; he was poor and persecuted. At length, after having experienced all the degradations of fortune, he died, miserably, in an hospital, in 1577, at the age of sixty-three. Some say that his birth-place was at Coimbra; others, at Santaren. What is most probable is, that he was a native of Lisbon, of a noble family, of small fortune. We are told, that his disposition was mild and amiable; that he was bold in every sense of the word; and that he supported his misfortunes with the same calmness with which he braved dangers. He is one of those foreign poets who have been most celebrated in France. His Lusiad has been three times translated. Montesquieu has asserted of this poem, "that it reminds him of the charms of the Odyssey, and the gran-

He, however, is not the only poet reverenced by the Portuguese. They reckon six other epic poems besides the Lusiad, but they are very little known out of their own country. They are, the Ulysses, by Perreira de Castro; the Founding of Lisbon, by Antonio de Sousa; Portugal reconquered, by the Marquis de Menezès; Maccabeus, by Miguel Sylveira; Alphonso, by Vesconcellos; and the Henriad, by the Count d'Ericeira.

In pastoral poetry, the Portuguese quote, with pleasure, Saa de Miranda and Rodrigo Lobo: one of them surnamed the Virgil, the other the Theocritus of Portugal. Saa de Miranda was the first of his countrymen who

deur of the Æneid;" and Voltaire thus expresses himself upon it—"It is a great proof of the irresistible impulse of nature, which inclines a true genius to follow the bent of his talents, in spite of every obstacle which can impede his course." It is known that he composed the greater part of his poem during his banishment to the island of Macao, on the southern coast of China; and that returning from exile, and being wrecked near the Malabar coast, he saved his life by swimming, holding the Lusiad in his hand, while he beheld, with a steadfast eye, the whole of his fortune swallowed up in the waves. *Editor.*

cultivated satire: he has had many imitators; and, among their performances, are still recollected the fable of Polyphemus, and Ovid's Metamorphoses, translated into burlesque verse by Antonio dos Reys. He has not confined himself to profane poetry. He has translated, from the Italian, into Portuguese, the Life of the Holy Virgin, and that of Jesus Christ in his mother's womb.

It might be imagined, that in so religious a country as Portugal, theological writers would be held in great veneration. They make much boast of a Barthelemi Quental, a Francisco Perreira, a Thomasco Almeyda, a Jean de Sibeira, &c. &c.

Among the Portuguese, there are some writers on modern philosophy, who deserve to be a little better known; such as the Jesuit Cordero, and, in particular, Gomez de Pereira, whose works were so highly spoken of by Descartes.

In navigation and geography, the celebrated Magallanes, whom we call Magellan, is unrivalled. The Portuguese likewise have some

esteem for Goenez de San-Estevan, Jean-Baptiste Larraneha and Carvalho d'Acosta, who wrote the geography of Portugal.

They are, and not without reason, still more proud of some of their historians, Joan de Barros, Louis de Sousa, Bernardo Brito, to whom they are indebted for the Monarchia Lusitania; Mascarenhas, author of the first Portuguese newspaper;* the Count d'Ericeira,

* Mascarenhas deserves to be known on other accounts. He was truly learned: he had travelled much, and spoke every language of Europe. He served for some years in the cavalry, but he quitted the profession of arms to give himself up entirely to study. He had a taste for every species of literature, and a promptness to every description of human knowledge; but he principally applied himself to politics. Of his works there are, The Negotiations for the Peace of Ryswick, in 2 vols. 8vo.; a Narrative of the Death of Louis the Fourteenth; a Detail of the Expeditions undertaken by the Russians against the Turks, Tartars, and others. The newspapers established by him, in Portugal, died before him. Having announced in one of them, that a ship was expected from the Indies, laden with specie to a large amount, the Spaniards hearing of it, sent out, and captured her. More was not necessary to induce the Portuguese government to prohibit all public papers. They permit only one Court Gazette, as insignificant as all others of that sort. Mascarenhas died in 1730. He is also known by the name of Montarroyo.

author of the History of Portugal Restored, which embraces the interesting period, when the Portuguese threw off the yoke of Spain, by placing the Duke of Braganza on their throne. Manuel de Faria y Sousa, who published the Historia del Reyno de Portugal, in 1677; and above all Jerôme Osorio, Bishop of Sylves, known to all the literati of Europe by his History of King Emmanuel, which first appeared at Lisbon, in 1571.

In works of jurisprudence, the Portuguese have those of Costa, Velasco Lopez, Ferdinand Paese, Gonera, &c.; names unknown to the rest of Europe.

The Portuguese are ill off for medical books. This science is completely in its infancy in Portugal, although they have schools for physic and anatomy. Botany is scarcely known, even by name.*_ In the same degree has the study

He must not be confounded with another Mascarenhas, the skilful Portuguese engineer, who, in 1546, signalized himself by his splendid defence of the fortress of Diu, besieged by the King of Cambay and the Great Mogul. *Editor.*

* The Portuguese can, however, make honourable mention, in this line, of Loureiro, author of the Flora Cochin-

of the language of the country been neglected. There are only some defective grammars, and two dictionaries, which may be of some little use to strangers; the one Latin and Portuguese, by Father Bluseau, a French priest, in eight volumes; the other, French and Portuguese, a mere compilation from our best dictionaries, by Joseph Marguese.

A knowledge of the grammar, and an acquaintance with all the resources of a language, being essential requisites for the formation of an orator, it may be easily presumed that true eloquence is very little known in Portugal. Some authors, who have succeeded in this way, have expiated their success in the dungeons of the Inquisition; for the influence of that horrible tribunal is felt every where. Father Fricira, at the beginning of this century distinguished himself for his talents in preaching.

chinensis, in 2 vols. 4to. This man, who was valuable, also, in every respect, died, some years ago, at Lisbon. Of late, the Portuguese have devoted themselves to the study of various branches of natural history; and several of their works have been translated into French. An Italian, of the name of Vandelli, naturalized in that country, has published some good essays on natural history and political economy. *Editor.*

He was termed the Bourdaloue of Portugal. His style was flowing, easy, and much less burdened with quotations and extravagant figures, than is generally the case with the orators of the south. He united a kind of philosophy with his sacred compositions, and was, twice, cited before the tribunal of the Inquisition.

There is no branch of human knowledge at present more neglected in Portugal than mathematics; and yet, in the enlightened ages of the monarchy, it was held in great esteem. The greatest men made it a principal object of their study. It was so with Prince Henry, the real founder of the throne of Portugal; King John I., in whose reign the Azores and Madeira were discovered; King John II., by whose exertions the Portuguese, then the first navigators of Europe, made settlements on the coasts of Guinea and in Congo; Barthelemi Diaz, who discovered the Cape of Storms, which the same John II., foreseeing the beneficial results of the discovery, called the Cape of Good Hope; King Emmanuel and Vasco de Gama, both deserving the highest praise; one, because he saw and encouraged the genius

of one of his subjects, and the other because, under the shield of an enlightened, and benevolent Sovereign, he extended the prosperity of his country, and opened the commerce of the world, to ways, till then unknown; Magellan, whose name alone, awakens in us the idea of great enterprizes, demanding wisdom and courage; and lastly, Pierri Nunez, known to learned foreigners, by the name of Nonnius, the first of Portuguese mathematicians, who blazed forth at the commencement of the 16th century, and was the first professor of mathematics, which the University of Coimbra had.

In our days, that college is far, indeed, from being able to produce another Nonnius. It is true, she has an observatory; so has Lisbon, but we are convinced, that there is not a practical astronomer in the whole of Portugal.*

The Portuguese, like all other nations, who owe the richness of the imagination,

* By the supplement to this chapter, this assertion will be shown, at least, to be exaggerated. *Editor.*

and the love of the marvellous, to their climate, derive more pleasure from romances, than from any other species of production. This taste is, also, encouraged, among them, by circumstances, which have rather made them objects of pity, than of envy; their idleness and aversion to serious study, and the subjection which the minds of the people are held in, by their political and religious institutions.

As to their dramatic authors, they scarcely deserve notice. They are, however, Diaz, Balthazard, whom they hold in some estimation; Gil Vincente, whom they consider their Plautus; Antonio Joseph, who was burnt alive by the holy office, and whose pieces, notwithstanding, are often acted. The Portuguese theatre, is the lowest of the theatres of Europe. It possesses all the defects, without any of the beauties of the Spanish stage. Every thing is inflated, bombastic, and insignificant, a mixture of the ridiculous, serious, and buffoonery; of the sacred with the profane.*

* To complete the disgust excited by their dramatic representations, a false idea of decency has entirely excluded

All their other works, and they are not few, bespeak the same barbarous taste, which dictated their dramatic productions. The stile is bombastic, beyond what the imagination of other countries can conceive. It is replete with gigantic images and pictures. They relate, with the most laughable credulity, the most absurd stories of miracles and witchcraft, and the greater portion of these works are dedicated to the Holy Virgin, St. Joseph, or to some other Saint.

The fine arts in Portugal are on a level with the other sciences. There is not a painter, a sculptor, or an architect, worth mentioning. Lisbon has not even a single drawing-

females from taking part in it. It is necessary to bring the mind to the resolution of witnessing the representation of queens, princes, and love-sick damsels, by young men, not always, beardless. The fair sex is also excluded from the ballets. The repertory of the stage has been principally composed, of late, of the best pieces from the French, Italian, a great many from the Spanish, and some few only from the English. They have also translated many of our comic operas; but their favourite pieces are still those which recal the mysteries of the passion, and other characters of Holy Writ: those in which Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, and the Saints are represented. *Editor*

master. As vainly might you seek for military instructors, or riding, or dancing masters.* In such a state of things, it is easy to appreciate the means of education, for youth, and it is impossible, not to be astonished, that, with so many circumstances to darken the cloud of ignorance, which envelopes the Portuguese nation, and with such an absolute deficiency of the means of improvement, it has been able to produce, among the nobility, such enlightened men, as are sometimes met with in other countries. Their travels, and the knowledge they acquire from foreign nations, of their manners, customs, and arts, can, alone, explain these exceptions.

There is, perhaps, only one of the fine arts, with which the Portuguese are not unacquainted, and that is music. Of their composers, the celebrity of some has passed the confines of their own country, as Cordoso, Soares, and more particularly David Perez.

In the midst of the complete stagnation

* The supplement to this chapter modifies these statements in many respects. *Editor.*

of every thing which relates to science, and fine arts, nobody would suppose that the Portuguese have had, and still have, Academics for the cultivation of them. About the year 1720, they founded several under the pompous names of instantaneos, singulares, anonyms, generosos, applicados, estudiosos, and illustrados.

But the favourite, and almost sole occupation of the academicians, was, either, reciprocally, to praise each other, or to defame each other by satires, rather abusive than ingenious.

Soon afterwards, they united, under the auspices of indolence and ignorance. The instantaneous, or extemporaries, were only a slight exception, and, at least, faithful to their appellation. At their meetings, they gave extempore discourses, upon matters proposed to them, off hand. But these harangues, displayed nothing but a barren facility of language, which betrayed the want, both of taste and information.*

* It is well known, that most of the southern nations have,

The Portuguese themselves, estimated these, useless seminaries, as they deserved. They were, however, engaged in establishing one, whose design was less futile. They were desirous of possessing, in their own language, a complete history of their native country, a work not yet in existence, but the materials for which were in being, though scattered. Chiefly with this view, in the reign of John I. was it, that the Royal Academy of Portuguese history was established.

It was only, at first, intended, to include the ecclesiastical history of Portugal, but its view was soon extended to the civil and political affairs of the country. That institution is formed nearly upon the plan of the other academies of Europe; the number of members were limited at fifty, and, agreeably to the statutes, supernumeraries could only be

naturally, this talent of speaking extempore, even in verse, which excites, if not the admiration, at least, the astonishment of other countries. Even, at this time, Lisbon abounds with these copious, but insipid poetasters, who, on the slightest intimation, pour out, in rhime, to the fair, who will listen to them, the homage of gallantry, or the tribute of love. *Editor*

received, by order of the King. The secretary, as in all other academies, is chosen for life. They draw lots, every year, for a director, and four censors, who are presidents in turn.

The sittings are held only every fifteen days, and on Sunday, and no member can be absent two successive months, unless he give notice of it, in writing, to the secretary. The director and censors are required to attend all the meetings. No stranger can be present, unless he be formally invited, or at least, has something of importance to communicate to the academy.

On the birth-days of the King and Queen, they hold a public meeting, at which, are recited, poetic effusions, in honour of their majesties, and read, various selections made by the director. Its emblem is the figure of Truth, with this inscription, which undoubtedly, promises, more than she can perform: "Restituet Omnia." The seal of the academy, bears the arms of the King, and underneath, Time chained, with this inscription, Sigillum Regiæ Academiæ Historiæ Lusitaniæ.

In 1727, the first volume of the work which had been thus undertaken, was published. This volume contains an account of the academy, and many historical dissertations. The first funeral eulogy composed in this institution, was that of Jule of Mello de Castro, son of the celebrated Don Juan de Castro, fourth viceroy of India.

I shall here introduce part of this discourse, by which a judgment may be formed of the style and ideas prevalent in the Royal Academy of History. "His genius," says the author, "was so quick, so lively, and so fertile, that in his poetical works, are as many thoughts as verses; every thought giving birth to a host of others, which he had the surprising talent of making both known and felt."

"Whatever subject he undertook, so many beautiful ideas pressed upon his imagination, that had not his discernment been most exquisite, he must have been involved in that dearth which abundance is calculated to produce. His flights were sometimes so lofty,

that it was almost impossible to follow him, and yet he was natural and unaffected."

"But he had excelled even himself, in the famous romance he commenced, where he endeavoured to comprehend, in two thousand strophes, the whole life of the Mother of God. His devotion inspired him with an elevation so noble, that his thoughts appeared more than human, and the beauty of his numbers was crowned by his piety."

Don Sebastian de Rocha Pitta, published in 1750, the History of Portuguese America, from the year 1500 to 1724. It is a work replete with extravagant tales, but, which, notwithstanding, is not unpleasing to the Portuguese.*

* The bombastic style of this work, a passage of which our traveller has quoted, in speaking of Brasil, at first, gave great satisfaction to the Portuguese readers, who were dazzled by his brilliant images and eastern hyperboles. But, according to Murphy, after their taste for literature had been improved by subsequent writers, the admiration which he had before excited, was changed to contempt. The judicious Englishman, might as well have pointed out the writers

The Academy has continued its copious labours, which have certainly contributed neither to the advancement of knowledge nor taste. In 1748, it published, in seven vols. 4to. a collection of the Latin poets of Portugal. One Francisco de Macedo, as famous in Portugal as he is unknown out of it, holds the first rank in this catalogue of illustrious writers. He lived in the seventeenth century. He was a man, extraordinary both for the variety of his attainments, and the fertility of his imagination. He spoke 22 languages, was at once, a poet, orator, historian, philosopher, and chronologist. He composed 60 Latin discourses, 53 panegyrics, and 32 funeral orations. Among his works, which remain, are 48 poems, 123 elegies, 150 epitaphs, 212 dedicatory epistles, and more than 2000 epigrams.

He acquired some reputation in France, by his verses on the Equestrian Statue of Louis XIII. and two theatrical pieces; the tragedy of Jacob, and the tragi-comedy of Orpheus,

posterior to the year 1730, who brought the taste of the Portuguese to perfection. *Editor.*

which were acted before Louis XIV. when he was a child.

He had been a Jesuit, and afterwards became a Franciscan. He astonished the Venetians, by his education, and extraordinary readiness of wit, and maintained, for three days, disputations on every subject which was proposed to him. In 1658, being at Rome, he underwent the same trial, and with similar success. He died very advanced in years, at Padua, where he obtained a presidency of theology.

Notwithstanding this variety of knowledge, and so many productions, on all subjects, Macedo was, after all, but an indifferent writer, for he was deficient both in judgment and taste, yet, bad as he was, he was the most distinguished of those whose works were by the Academy of Lisbon, thought worth restoring. By this, we may judge of the merit of the remainder.

It would be easy to mention many more Portuguese authors of the seventeenth and preceding centuries, who have acquired some repu-

tation in their own country; but if we except father Antonio Vieira, a jesuit, who was likewise famous in the pulpit, and the illustrious Camoens, there are none that are known, scarcely, or deserve to be known, beyond the Portuguese frontiers.

In the present century, the literature of that country, has been still less worthy the attention of foreigners; for it is not to be expected, that they should admire the extravagant productions of Rocha Pitta, of whom we have before spoken, nor even of the Rev. Father Bluteau, the author of a Portuguese and Latin dictionary. A Frenchman, by birth, he had acquired, by his long residence at Lisbon, a habit of whimsical ideas, and expressions, and he paid full tribute to the influence of climate and example. Will it be believed, for instance, that this work, estimable in other respects, begins with ten prefaces addressed to the different classes of readers, whose suffrages he wishes to engage, viz. to the benevolent reader; to the malevolent reader: to the impatient reader; to the Portuguese reader; to the foreign reader; to the learned reader; to the ignorant reader; to the undiscern-

ing reader; to the impertinent reader; to the trifling and troublesome reader. It will scarcely appear credible, that he next gives his dictionary 36 different epithets in alphabetical order; epithets, of which, many are not intended to be understood, by that class of ignorant readers, to whom he addresses a particular preface: such are the dendrologic, gnosmonic, homoniric, isagogic, heoteric, quidditativic, therapeutic, and zenophoric dictionary, &c.*

We shall have still less to say of the writers of the present century, which do credit to Portugal: a chevalier Olivegra, who, after having travelled a great deal, published, at Amsterdam, in 1741, a work, in French, intituled, Memoirs of Portugal, with the Lusitanian library: an ill-digested compilation of the author's remarks on the history of his country, and the harsh opinions which foreigners entertain of it.

* In 1779, a new edition of this dictionary appeared in 3 vols. 4to.; but it is a dictionary wholly Portuguese, on the plan of that of the French academy. The editor has suppressed those ridiculous prefaces to the different classes of readers, as well as the long and pedantic title of which our author speaks. *Editor.*

Among the Portuguese whom I have seen, even in the upper classes, where a more careful education might have promised more knowledge and improvement; I have found very few who pursued science and literature, and who endeavoured to redeem their countrymen from the unfavourable idea, which foreigners have conceived of them. I am bound, however, to acknowledge, that I found, at Lisbon, some tolerably large, and well-chosen libraries; such is that of the Hieronymites, which is public, and well selected by the monks, many of whom know how to appreciate the literary treasures which it contains. Such are also those of the Abbey of Mafra,* and Coimbra,

* King John V. being attacked by a dreadful malady, made a vow, to found an abbey, in that place, where, the poorest convent in the kingdom should be found. A few leagues to the north-west of Lisbon, was a cabin, inhabited by a few Capuchins: at this place, therefore, the vow of John V. was fulfilled. Upon the site of this miserable monastery, was constructed a vast edifice, the plan of which was brought from Italy, and which, at first sight, appears sumptuous. The centre is a church, behind the choir are 300 cells, on the two sides is a palace intended for the royal family, and the whole court. On this account, Mafra is considered the escurial of Portugal. But, John V. seems, in all respects, to have been but a bad copyist of Philip II. The

which formerly belonged to the Jesuits of that city.

Lisbon has several cabinets which would be very curious, if they were better arranged; I ought, particularly, to mention those two which were formed by the Marquis de Angeja, one, of natural history, the other, of botany.

situation of both these convents is ill chosen: the escurial, erected in the midst of rocks, at the foot of barren mountains, overlooks a vast, but naked and uncultivated country. Mafra, in a barren valley, has, at least, a view of the ocean. The author of the Picture of Lisbon, so inclined, elsewhere, to blacken every thing relating to Portugal, says, that the convent of Mafra, is beautiful, and built with equal taste and magnificence. Murphy, who is an architect, and a traveller, who has done least injustice to Portugal, has a very different opinion on this monument of fear and devotion,: "If the treasures, (said he) that this establishment cost, had been applied to a better design, it would, incontestibly, have appeared a mass of building, superior to the escurial, in point of architecture. Unfortunately, the architect had neither a genius to conceive, nor a hand to execute, I do not say a cathedral, or a palace, but not even a simple cottage." This man's name was Frederic Ludovici: he was, by trade, a goldsmith. According to the testimony of other travellers, this decision of Murphy, respecting Mafra, is at least, severe; and was it not to him, then it should have been said, you are a goldsmith, Mr. Joseph. *Editor.*

Two other persons of quality, the Marquis de Marielva, and the Marquis de Perhalva, have, in another line, collections worthy of the attention of amateurs. Their galleries of paintings would excite but little sensation in any other capital of Europe, but, at Lisbon, they are viewed with great interest.*

This city possesses, excepting these, no monument, sacred, or profane, which good taste could acknowledge. None of the churches overwhelmed by the earthquake, have been rebuilt. This calamity, however, spared the chapel of St. John the Baptist, situated upon the eminence of St. Roch, in the heart of the city. It is, at least, a very singular, if it cannot be called a beautiful, monument. It is

* Since the time, when M. de Châtelet travelled, Lisbon has, visibly, improved in this respect. Ignorance is no longer the appendage of all Portuguese noblemen, without reckoning the Duc D'Alafoens (formerly Duke of Braganza) M. de Sampayo, M. D'Almeyda, the Chevalier D'Aranjo, Don Rodrigo Souza, &c. whose talents have been properly estimated, out of their own country, there are, at this time, many, who have had superior education, and who are not strangers either to the sciences or fine arts; but who deplore, at least in secret, the barbarism, in which, in many respects, their country is still plunged. *Editor.*

built with blocks of marble, which were cut at Rome, and which arrived all numbered, so that on their being brought on shore, they had only to build the chapel, by placing the blocks of marble according to their respective numbers.

In Lisbon, also, are many houses which have been, in the same manner, built in America: they are of wood; the pieces arrive shaped and numbered, and two or three days after the landing of the carpenter, the house was finished, and habitable. While I was at Lisbon, the Neapolitan minister occupied one of this description, which was very commodious and well planned.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XV.

BY THE EDITOR.

Since the journey of M. de Châtelet, the Portuguese have made some successful efforts to extricate themselves, from the profound ignorance, and shameful indifference, with which they were reproached. The Queen, if she have not established, has, at least, permitted the establishment, under her protection, of, a Royal Academy of Sciences, the object of which, is much less futile, than that of those ridiculous corporations, which had usurped the title of Academy. This has already published several volumes of its memoirs, and they all contain some pieces, which prove the wisdom, and patriotic zeal, of their authors.

The first volume of these memoirs, appeared in 1789. It contains many subjects of pub-

lic utility, such as, a comparison of the salt of Setuval, with that of Cadiz; Sardinia, with that of Iviza; the means of bringing to perfection the culture of cotton, which is the most valuable commodity that Portugal, and through Portugal, the rest of Europe, receives from Brasil; the agriculture and population of some of the provinces of the kingdom; the means of naturalizing, in the land of the parent state, some of the productions of her colonies; the mischief arising to the Portuguese from luxury.

This volume is distinguished, above all, for a short, but luminous, dissertation on the great question, which still divides political economists: The real influence of mines of precious metals upon the national industry of the possessors, and especially on the Portuguese nation. The author is Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the nephew of the last ambassador from Portugal to France, and he therein proves, by arguments, at least, specious, that the decline of industry, both in Spain and Portugal is not attributable to the possession of mines of gold and silver, but to much more operative causes.

In Spain, he attributes it to the expulsion of the Moors, and the Jews; the remote and expensive wars of Philip II. and to the detestable administration of his three successors.

In Portugal, he says, that, not to the mines, is to be ascribed the ruin of commerce and industry, since the one, and the other, were both in a flourishing state, in the reign of Emmanuel, but to the foolish, and unfortunate enterprize of the young king Sebastian; the intestine troubles that followed, the injurious dominion of the Kings of Spain, during sixty years; (from 1580 to 1640) the ruinous wars which followed the accession of the House of Braganza, to the throne.

He says, that, these alone, are sufficient to account for the degenerate condition of Portugal, to the reign of Peter II. when the mines of Brasil, were discovered; that this discovery would have been a source of prosperity, instead of impoverishment, and depopulation, but for the fatal treaty of 1703, which, by destroying our manufactures, and transferring our commerce into the hands of

a powerful ally, occasioned the balance of trade to be so much against the Portuguese, that all the produce of the mines was not sufficient to restore the equilibrium.

The same writer, further says, that these mines always retarded, for some time, the destructive effects of the treaty; but that all the mischief was, afterwards, attributed to them, when the ruin of the national industry began to be visible; that, under the reign f John V. they produced that apparent wealth which, not being founded in industry and continually diminishing, from the unfavourable preponderance in commerce, at last entirely disappeared.

In our time, concludes the author, of this memoir, we have seen the dawn of a more glorious day, and posterity will celebrate the reign of a Sovereign, Joseph I. who has raised from its ashes, a flourishing edifice. He has restored public credit, destroyed those prejudices, by which we were subjected to a nation awake to her own interests, which under the seductive veil of protection, has re-

duced us, as we may say, to become the pillars of a foreign state.

A young Portuguese noble, surrounded by enemies, still warm with anger against the Marquis de Pombal, could not have framed an eulogy, more direct, upon the minister. But the adoption of his ideas, by the literary society of which he was a member, is a satisfactory proof, at once, of the inclination of this society with regard to England, and the policy of the existing government. If Don Rodrigo had been less influenced by court reserve, and by fear of the animosity of fanatics, he would, no doubt, have mentioned, among the principal causes of the decline of Portugal, among the obstacles to its improvement, the establishment of the Inquisition, under the reign of John III. the epoch from which the country has uniformly declined.

The second volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Lisbon, contains some treatises on matters interesting to Portugal. We there find long details on the culture of vines, and the means of bringing them to perfection. In this treatise, the violent measure adopted by

the Marquis de Pombal, in 1776, to prevent the increase of vineyards, at the expence of agriculture, properly, so called, is in some respects justified.

This abuse, which the minister was anxious to destroy, has, in a great measure, survived his efforts. It still prevails in the three northern provinces, principally in Tra-los-Montes, and Beira, soils well adapted to grain, and vegetables, are planted with vines. In the province, hitherto, so fertile and pleasant, of Entre-Douro-y-Minho, this system might, the more successfully, be adopted, as the vines which they grow, are much weaker than those in other districts. One vineyard near Alafoens, between the Vonga and the Mondego, is mentioned, by way of example, where the wine has so little spirit, that 10 measures will scarcely produce one of brandy.

This second volume also presents some curious memoirs on the cochineal of Brasil; the inundation of the Tagus, and the consequent ravages, with the means of preventing them; on mineral coal; on the most useful trees; on iron manufactures; on the whale fishery, and

Duhamel, and other philosophical agriculturists: also, the different methods of making wine, whether in the country, or elsewhere; the precautions used to preserve, cleanse, and prepare it for exportation; the mode of detecting adulteration, &c.

To examine the instruments of agriculture used in Portugal, and compare them with those of other countries, shewing how they may be employed, most advantageously, to the situation, and soil of Portugal.

To give the best design for a vessel, calculated to move with the greatest velocity, accompanying the design with plans, views and sections of its principal parts.

To determine, in the most ready and accurate manner, the distance and course that a vessel runs in a given time.

What are the defects in our mode of salting fish, which render it, physically, less nourishing, and more difficult to preserve; and by what means we can bring this essential

branch of our subsistence, and commerce, to perfection.

To ascertain the artificial means of obtaining the greatest quantity of nitre.

To point out the manner of finding the equation of the planets, by observation, and of employing them principally in determining the different phases of the moon.

To give the best Portuguese translation of the Georgics of Virgil, either in verse or prose, adding, what no translator has, yet, done, notes, and explanations, especially relating to the Portuguese, confining the illustrations to things, applicable to the country, which have already been tried with success.

To give a medico-topographical description of Lisbon, pointing out the peculiarities of its climate and situation, analysing the atmosphere, and its variations, the food of its inhabitants, and their general mode of living, and collecting authentic facts which may lead to the knowledge of the diseases endemic, and epidemic, of that city.

the oil obtained from it; on the cultivation of waste and unproductive lands, &c.

The following volumes, of which we have had none in France, later than 1793, contain many treatises equally useful, and which may be found interesting, even out of Portugal. Such are those on agricultural subjects, especially on the culture of vines and olives. Vicente Coalho de Scabra, the author of one of the memoirs, shews himself to be an observer, versed in the study of botany, and recommends the increased cultivation of the tree called ricin, Palma Christi, whose fruit contains a kernel, which yields abundance of oil. This tree, which is common in the neighbourhood of the mines of Brasil, furnishes oil sufficient for the consumption of the miners. Multiplied in Portugal, where the cultivation has been tried, in several parts, with success, it would supply the scarcity of olive oil, in many cases, but the author confesses, that it could not be used at table, on account of its nauseous taste, and purgative quality.

Another dissertaion, by Manuel Dias Bap-

tista, entitled a physical and economical description of Coimbra, and the environs, shews that botany is not so little known in Portugal, as M. de Châtelet represents. The academy at Lisbon has printed, since 1789, several works on this branch of science; they are the Viridarium Lusitanicum, Linnæanis nominibus illustratum by Dominique Vandelli, and the Flora Cochinchinensis, by Jean de Loureiro. Besides, there are, at Lisbon, some botanic gardens, worthy the attention of travellers, as well as the Cabinets of Natural History, of that capital, and of Coimbra, Evora, Mafra, &c.

One of the most interesting essays, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Lisbon, is that relative to the fisheries, and particularly to the whale fishery, which the Portuguese might pursue, with much greater advantage, on the coast of Brasil.

The English, almost wholly, engross this too, as well as all other advantages. The produce which they obtain, from the whale fishery, and which is paid for by their faithful allies, amounts, annually, to seven hundred millions

of reas, 1,500,000*l*. The cod fishery is no less profitable to the English. From the month of June 1782, to December 1784, they exported to Oporto, of this article, only, to the value of seven hundred and twenty millions of reas. King Joseph, and the present Queen, have endeavoured to encourage the whale fishery, which might be carried on, with advantage, from the All Saints bay, to the Rio Grande de San Pedro, as well as on all the coasts of St. Paul, and near the Cape de Verd Islands. Why should they not succeed as well in this, as they have done in the cachelot, another cetaceous fishery, which furnishes the spermaceti, which the Portuguese themselves convey to Rio-Janeiro, and Lisbon?

The Academy, at Lisbon, also proves, that in chemistry and astronomy, the Portuguese are not so uninformed, as our author insinuates. It has printed an essay on the new theory of fire, by Magalhaes, and an excellent dissertation on heat, by Coalho de Scabra; and, in the memoirs for 1791, is a treatise on the utility of the knowledge of chemistry, applied

to the art of constructing buildings, by Alexander Anthony Dasnever.

For some years, they have laid before the public, an annual volume, intitled the Nautical Ephemeris, or Astronomical Journal, calculated from the meridian of Lisbon, and they likewise printed, in 1790, Perpetual Astronomical Tables, for the use of Portuguese navigators.

The academicians of Lisbon, have also published some curious enquiries into the population of their country. One of them, Jos Joaq Soares de Barros, printed, at Paris, some years ago, a small tract, in which he endeavoured to prove that Portugal contained, at least, three millions of inhabitants.

In a new work, which forms part of the Memoirs of the Academy, it is contended, that the population exceeds three millions and an half. This computation is founded on various estimates, but, principally, on the calculation of 1776, of the number of cities, towns, and villages, and of the number of hearths in each; and as these returns state the hearths at 744,980

and five persons, are commonly reckoned to one hearth, he thence concludes, that the population of Portugal amounts to 3,724,900 souls.

He proves, afterwards, by the exact estimates, taken, of some particular places, that this computation, of five persons to a hearth, is not much exaggerated, and he asserts, that the fact is undeniable, as he has stated, that Portugal has, at least, three millions and a half inhabitants.

Besides its Memoirs, the Academy has also directed the publication of many books, original, as well as translated from French, English, and Spanish. The list we subjoin, of the principal works which have appeared, in this way, from 1787 to 1794, will serve to do away the reflection that the Portuguese have, to our own time, neglected every branch of Science.

It may be suppposed that the Academy has not published, only, for its own members, and that it would not have incurred the expence, if it had not reckoned on reimburse-

ment, by the sale, to a certain number of amateurs. To its diligence, then, we are indebted for the following productions.

Historia Juris Civilis Lusitani. Institutiones Juris Civilis Lusitani: both by Pascal-Joseph Mello Friere.

The Life of the Infant Don Edward: by André de Rezende.

Memoirs of Agriculture. A prize essay, of the academy, in 1787 and 1788.

Vestiges of the Arabic language in Portugal, or etymological dictionary of Portuguese words, of Arabic derivation: by Fr. Joad de Souza.

Arabic documents for the Portuguese History, in Arabic and Portuguese.

Collection of books, not yet printed, containing the history of the reigns of the Portuguese Kings, John I. Edward, Alphonso V. and John II.

Memoirs on the means of improving the oil manufacture, in Portugal. Memoirs on the Cultivation of Olives in Portugal: both by Joad Emton Della-Bella.

Essay on Physical Education, for the use of the Portuguese nation: by Franc. de Mello-Franco.

Another, under the same title, by Franc-Jo. de Almeida.

Observations on the principal causes of the decline of the Portuguese in Asia, by Ant. Caetano de Amoral.

Memoirs for the history of transatlantic nations.

Dictionary of the Portuguese language, &c. &c.

We pass over, in silence, many others, exclusively connected with Portuguese literature, perhaps, not deserving much celebrity; but, to which the Academy calls the attention of their countrymen, either to point them

out as models, in some small degree, on which they should form their compositions, or to shew the errors they should avoid.

Besides all this, the Academy encourages, by premiums, the study, and progress, of useful knowledge. Their views may be appreciated, by the following list of the principal subjects proposed for discussion since 1783.

The physical and economical description of some district, or considerable territory of Portugal, or of any of her possessions, beyond the sea, accompanied by practical observations on the agriculture, and industry, of the nation.

What is the best plan of cultivating, bringing to perfection, and preserving, vines; and what are the most efficacious means of promoting the reputation and produce of this important branch of Portuguese commerce? The Academy wishes, that, such as undertake this subject, will point out the different species of vines, with their respective names, distinguished by the quality of their fruit, in the manner adopted by Abbé Rozier,

To compose the best essay on nervous and hysteric affections. To point out the influence, which, the common mode of education, manners, food, and cloathing, of children, may have on these maladies, and the changes that will tend to make the children more robust and healthy. The whole to be proved by actual experience.

To examine the causes of a disease, common to Rio-Janeiro, and which begins to shew itself at All Saints bay; a sort of morphew, which, does not appear to be endemical. To point out the means of cure, and prevention, &c.

To give an account of the present state of Portuguese literature, distinguishing that, which, evinces good taste, whether in speaking, writing, &c.

To submit a method of elocution, suited to the Portuguese language, illustrating each precept, by examples derived from ancient and modern writers.

To compose a philosophical grammar of the Portuguese language.

To assist those, who, undertake this task, the academy recommends the study of Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding; the works of Condillac; the physical illustration of the Senses, by Hartley; the Universal Grammar, by Beauzée; the works of Dumarsais; Diderot's Letters on the Deaf and Dumb; the Articles in the Encylopedia, on the subject of Grammar, and all other publications, relative to the philosophy of language.

To give a circumstantial history of the typographic art, from its introduction, in Portugal, to the present time.

To describe the military state of Portugal, at different periods, detailing the number of men, of which it has been composed, the various descriptions of troops, the arms they respectively used, the manner in which they were organized, and commanded, and how war was carried on, from the commencement of the monarchy, to the invasion of Philip II.

To ascertain the time, when the code of Justinian was introduced into Portugal, and, what degree of authority it has obtained in this kingdom.

To compose eulogies upon some of the eminent characters, who, have done honour to Portugal, and whose actions deserve to be recorded.

In addition to these, the Academy gives annual prizes to the authors of a Portuguese tragedy, and comedy, either in prose or verse, in which the character of the natives is pourtrayed. It also gives silver medals to each of the authors of the four best poetical compositions, neither epic, nor dramatic.

This sketch is sufficient to convince foreigners, that, the Academy of Lisbon, though much less known, than it deserves, neglects no opportunity to enlighten the inhabitants, and to rescue them from their stupefaction. Physics, political economy, agriculture, in particular; navigation, astronomy, medicine national literature, history, military tactics, typography, jurisprudence, and all

the sciences, speculative and practical, are the various objects of its solicitude, and encouragement.

The chairs of its members have not been soporific, like those of certain other literary bodies. Its members combine example with precept. To them we are indebted for many useful memoirs, on different subjects, Alex. Anton das Neves Portugal, Domingos Vandelli, Estevas Cabral, Joan de Loureiro, Jos. Joaq. Soares de Barros, Anton Ribeiro dos Santos, and especially the perpetual Secretary to the Academy, Correa, have distinguished themselves, among the most laborious, and enlightened.

The Duke d'Alafoens, who, had travelled, extensively, in Europe, and with great success, may be considered the real founder of this literary institution; and his intimate connection with the court, secures to the Academy of Lisbon, the peculiar protection of the Sovereign.

But after all, we must acknowledge, that, these endowed establishments, published Me-

moirs, and decreed prizes, have done little to divest the Portuguese, of their prejudices, and ignorance. Their restoration, must be effected by more active means.

The glory, at present, shines only round privileged heads, which, nature has favoured, or, which, education has improved, as the rising sun, only gilds the summits of the mountains; the rest of the Portuguese world, is yet in darkness, like the deep valleys which must wait long, before the day-star appears. It is only by a total reform, that the views of the government can be accomplished.

As long as the political terror, with which, the English afflict this nation, accustomed to their yoke, shall remain, and not have given place to a bolder, and more comprehensible system: while, also, the religious terror, which, the Inquisition impresses, keeps the mind in a state of stupor, while, the avenues to the throne, are obstructed, by ambitious priests, and fanatic monks, all remedies are but palliative; all efforts are vain attempts; and the philosophic, and literary labours are of utility, alone,

to the individuals, who, make them their study.

Portugal has, notwithstanding, since 1778, witnessed the production of many useful, or agreeable works, to which the Academy has not directly given its sanction.

In 1785, appeared, a second edition of the description of Portugal, in which are detailed the productions, planets, minerals, fruits, &c.; and, annexed a short account of the heroes of Portugal, and other remarkable persons, among whom, the Portuguese Saints, are, of course, not forgotten.

Captain Manuel de Sousa, produced, about 1782, a French and Portuguese Dictionary; and Antonio Vieira, an English and Portuguese Dictionary; Joseph de Cardoso, the Elements of the Military Art; M. Lacroix, the Elements of the Natural and Social Rights of Nations; Manoe de Faria y Sousa, had published, in 1779, an abridged History of Portugal; and, ten years afterwards, appeared a

Portuguese translation of an English work, in three vols. under the same title.*

Among the recent translations which have been published in Portugal, from foreign works, ancient or modern, we must not omit the Sublime, by Longinus; on the manner of Writing History, by Lucian; the four first Comedies of Terence; the Poem of Milton; the Idyls of Gesner; many of our best Tragedies, &c. &c.

We might extend this nomenclature, much further, without proving, that Portuguese literature deserves to hold a distinguished rank, with that of the rest of Europe. When we have named, first, Louis Camoens; secondly, Joao de Barros, author of the Decades of Asia who treats the great deeds of the Portuguese in the discovery, and conquest of the seas and territories of the East; Osorio, who,

* Among the best modern works, which, have appeared, in Portugal, should not be omitted, that of Vellozo, who, has well described the plants of Brasil; and the essay, on the commerce of Portugal, and its colonies, by J. Joaq. da Cunha, bishop of Fernambouc. *Editor.*

produced the History of King Emmanuel; Father Vieira, known by his sermons, which, are rather whimsical, than eloquent; there are no others to name, but, who have been celebrated by the Portuguese alone, and a crowd of modern productions, mostly on religious subjects, or rather, relating to the most ridiculous superstition; works, which reason, as well as taste, rejects, and, which, being much more numerous, and much more sought after, by the generality of readers, than wise and useful works, succeed in darkening the gloom of ignorance, much more effectually, than all the efforts of the Academicians of Lisbon, can produce, by their labours, to the contrary.

In this dearth, of claims to literary reputation, the Portuguese have reason to attach great importance to their famous Camoens: they, therefore, multiply, as much as possible, the editions of the Lusiad. They lament the loss of the original manuscript of this poem; and a short time since, conceived the idea of repairing it. They found out, that there was, at Paris, in the possession of a sister of M. Turgot, a copy of the Lusiad, authentically collated, with the original.

The Chevalier d'Arango, as much attached to the glory of his country, as he was fitted to conduce to it by his talents, and knowledge, was engaged in the search of this manuscript, and intended to avail himself of it, in a new edition of Camoens, with notes; when various occurrences, obstructed the completion of his literary design: but it has not been abandoned, and under more favourable circumstances, it will not be long before it is successfully accomplished. *Editor.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Arts and Manufactures.

THE same reflections that supplied materials for the last chapter, are applicable to the present. How can the arts and manufactures arrive at any perfection, in a country, where so many causes combine to suppress genius, and where the endeavours to excite emulation, are so weak, and so recent?

Industry, and every thing belonging to it, is in a state of infancy, in Portugal: and, less happy than the nations in a savage state, who know how to accommodate their wants, to the natural resources of their country, they seek the productions of art; and, as to procure them among themselves, is not in their power, they, therefore, are at the mercy of strangers. But, as there is no nation, however savage its state, which does not excel in some manual operation, to which their taste, their

customs, and, above all, their religion inclines them to bring to perfection; so the Portuguese, may be distinguished as models of excellence, in the art of preparing wax tapers. As it is an article of furniture, the most in request, they are anxious to give it all the embellishments, of which it is capable: they have succeeded in delineating round their candle, with mere wax, flowers, of the most beautiful workmanship, and it is inconceivable, that the fingers which can produce these little chêf' d'œuvres are so unhandy in many other respects.

In the manufactures, which are most conducive to the necessaries of life, they are perhaps more aukward than any other nation. Nothing can be more clumsy, than the utensils, and instruments, of their own manufacture, either of wood, or metal. All those of iron, steel, copper, and tin, that have some claim to elegance, are, imported in an entirely finished state from England. They cannot, even now, make their own muskets, but receive them wholly from their faithful allies.

For some years, they have endeavoured to

found their own cannon, and mortars, and not without success.

During the last reign, they have moulded an equestrian statue of their king, in bronze: it was their first attempt in this way. The young artist, who made the trial, certainly deserves encouragement: he was a native of Berlin, named Barthelemi d'Acosta, he has never been out of his own country, and has had no other masters than his bold, but uncultivated, genius. His production is not without defects, but it is sufficient to rescue, the modern Portuguese, from the accusation, that they are incapable of the fine arts. This equestrian statue, is the principal ornament of the Place du Commerce; a part of the town newly built, and the only one in Lisbon, which has any pretensions to beauty, although, the architecture is heavy and coarse.* The pedestal on which

* There is no other specimen of architecture in Lisbon, deserving notice. All the churches, so numerous in this city, prove the arts to be still slumbering. The residence of the sovereign, can, scarcely, be termed an exception. The earthquake, having destroyed the ancient palace, the court retired to Belem, into an habitation so small, that men, in easy circumstances, of the other cities of Europe

the monument is raised, bears the following inscription.

JOSEPHO I.
AUGUSTO. PIO. FELICI. PATRI. PATRIÆ.
QUOD REGIIS. JURIBUS. ADSERTIS.
LEGIBUS. EMENDATIS.
COMMERCIO. PROPAGATO. MILITIA.
ET. BONIS. ARTITBUS. RESTITUTIS.
URBEM. FUNDITUS. EVERSAM.
TERRÆ. MOTU. ELEGANTIOREM.
RESTAURAVERIT.
AUSPICE. ADMINISTRO. EJUS.
MARCHIONE. POMBALIO.
ET. COLLEGIO. NEGOCIATOREM.
CURANTE.
S. P. R. O.
BENEFICIORUM. MEMOR.
P.

would find difficulty in accommodating themselves to it. On court-days, alone, the Royal Family, used a building, which was part of the monastery of the *Necesides*, inhabited by a religious order, very unlike the other monks of Portugal. They were enlightened, social, and a most acceptable resource for foreigners. Their library is public, and those, who choose

The coinage of money is not in a less imperfect state, in Portugal, than sculpture and architecture. Their gold, and silver pieces, are very pure, and rank higher than their other performances in those metals; but they are ill engraved, ill struck, and very easily counterfeited, and, therefore, it is, that base coin is so very common among the Portuguese.

Diamonds, which may be termed an indigenous production, are no better worked than

to avail themselves of it, are sure to find assistance of every kind at hand. They have, also, a large garden, which is a kind of public walk. For some time past, the court has lived, part of the year, in this monastery, which, on that account, has received some interior decorations. But there is not a royal family in Europe, accommodated with less magnificent apartments. The Queen has founded a convent of Carmelites, which she has dedicated to the sacred heart of Jesus. On this, she has expended many millions; but the edifice massive, and tasteless, indicates more the piety of the princess, than the success of the fine arts in Portugal. Architecture, is in so imperfect a state, that the business of a common monastery, is not well understood by the professors. They have, however, under their direction, some workmen, who are not inferior to the best artizans, in the practice of stone-cutting. The Portuguese, then, want only good architects, for the erection of magnificent edifices. *Editor.*

their metals. The practice they have in cutting them, has been productive of no improvement in the art.

Precious stones, of any value, are sent rough into France, and Holland, whence they are returned, cut, and set. They cut diamonds of an inferior kind, and especially topazes, themselves, but very clumsily, and these aukward masterpieces of their industry, load, rather than ornament, the fingers of the Portuguese women. It might be imagined, that they value their rings only from their weight. Every tolerable article of jewellery, comes from abroad. It will not be long ere, that of Portugal will be an article of importation, the country must be satisfied to use it within itelf.

Goldsmiths' ware, is much in the same state, although, the Portuguese find much employment in this kind of work, such as crosses, flambeaus, chalices, censers, &c. with which their devotion, prodigally, furnishes their churches. The greater part of these are very clumsily executed.

With respect to clock-work, they are also at

the mercy of foreigners, and, especially, of the English, and this is not one of the least considerable channels, by which their cash finds its way, in such abundance, into the hands of the latter. All the watch movements come from England, and they pay as high as six or seven pounds, for what is not intrinsically worth as many pence.

They have no knowledge in the art of running glass, and, foreigners, supply them with this article of luxury also. But, they have, at some distance from Lisbon, on the road to the waters of Caldas, a glass manufactory, established, under the management of an Englishman, named, Stephens, in a very flourishing way. It produces every kind of glasses, and of an excellent quality. It is, however, mortifying, and disgraceful, to the Portuguese, that the abundant profits, of this branch of manufacture, go only to enrich a foreigner, and that their own unskilfulness, prevents them from founding, and carrying on similar establishments.

They have some woollen factories, but they are conducted on the Sovereign's account, by which,

thanks to their bad government, he incurs great losses, without having, in return, for the expenditure, the consolation of supplying his subjects with cloths, of a good quality. An Englishman, on the contrary, when he comes into Portugal, gratifies his pride, in seeing even the country women, in the provinces, most distant from the capital, clad in a kind of baize, manufactured in England;* and the men are dressed in English, French, or Dutch, cloth, because the woollen factories, attempted to be established, in Portugal, have never been able to be kept up there, to support an establishment for that article.† The Portuguese have,

* Since M. du Châtelet was there, manufactories, of coarse cloths, and baize, have been set up for the lower orders, with success, and have greatly diminished the demand for English woollens.

† In Covilhao, in the province of Beira, at the foot of Sierra d'Estrella, there has been, for many years, a flourishing manufactory, which supplies all the cloths, for the use of the troops, and of the numerous household of the Queen. The situation, considering the plenty of water in the neighbourhood, has been ill-chosen. Every thing, which comes to, and goes out of, this factory, must be conveyed on the backs of mules. But, for Portugal, it is a most distinguished establishment, and is attended with this advantage, that the Portuguese no longer depend upon England for the clothing of their troops.

also, endeavoured to clothe their own troops, but, with similar success, and the English continue to supply every necessary for the dress of a soldier. There are many silk manufactories in Portugal, one, among others, at Lisbon, in which gold and silver stuffs are made, but yet, very imperfectly, and they are not much in request. As to velvets, and shags, the Portuguese receive them from abroad; neither have they any tapestry manufactories, France supplies them with the greater part of this.

The Marquis de Pombal, brought a number of hat-makers from Lyons. The manufactory, which, they established in Portugal, has succeeded perfectly, and it would have been of great importance, to the country, had it been continued under the management of those, who set it on foot. The hats are of an excellent quality, and the price is reasonable.

The art of dying, is yet in an infant state,

Here every part of the cloth manufacture is conducted with success. Even dying, which, is one of the most difficult to bring to any perfection, has succeeded, without even the exception of the scarlet dye, on which they had previously made many ineffectual attempts. *Editor.*

in Portugal; they have in particular failed in their attempts to produce scarlet.*

They know no more of the art of dressing, than they do of tanning, hides, and the English send the leather to Portugal, ready prepared. The Portuguese, import some skins from the coast of Africa, when they are at peace with Morocco; but they principally derive them from the Brasils.†

They have but one paper-mill, and that a very indifferent one. Holland supplies the greater part of their paper.

In common, with the Spaniards, (whom they resemble, in many respects, in spite of their

* See the preceding note. *Editor.*

† Great progress has been made, in this branch of industry, in the last twenty years. A Frenchman has established a manufactory, on the coast of Letubal, where hides, are dressed, with great perfection. He makes, also, at the same place, a species of red Morocco, which begins to be in repute, even out of Portugal. The modern Portuguese, likewise, well know the use of the skins which they prepare; and they now have boot, and shoe, makers, which excel those of England. *Editor.*

reciprocal hatred) they, during the slumber of almost all other arts, have carried that of printing to great perfection. I have seen some historical, and genealogical, memoirs, of the great families of Portugal, published in 1742; a third edition of the Chronicles of the Kings of Portugal, by Duarte Nunez do Liao, which appeared in 1773; a Life of the Historian Joaq. de Barros; published, this year, (1778,) and many other modern works, very tolerably printed. They cast their own types, but not with the same neatness, as in France, England, and Spain.

With regard to painting, and engraving, they are much inferior, in modern days, even to their neighbours, the Spaniards. Towards the end of the last century, they had, at least, some painters of note, particularly, Claudio Coello, who has an admirable picture, in the Sacristy of the Escurial, executed with great truth, and effect. They have left no successors. Engraving, is yet, entirely in its infancy, as is evident, from their most modern productions; of this description, as many engravings of pretended miracles of the Virgin, one, representing the punishments of the Duke

D'Aveiro, and some wretched portraits of the Marquis de Pombal, &c.*

The manufactures, which, like the fine arts, are connected with luxury, elegance, and taste, are also very backward in Portugal. Their wainscot and inlaid work, is entirely executed by foreigners. That of gold is still very coarse.

There is not, perhaps, a single drawing-master, in the whole city of Lisbon. We might also seek in vain for a tolerable dancing-mas-

* One copied from a picture, rich in composition, wherein this minister, whose noble figure was so favourable to the painter, and engraver, is represented, sitting on a terrace, in view of the Port of Lisbon, and that part of the city, which is indebted to him, for being rebuilt. But, the Portuguese, entered with no spirit into this kind of monument, which gratitude raised. The sea part of the picture, is from the hand of Vernet, the rest, by Vanlao. Two English merchants, established at Lisbon, David Priery, and Gerard de Visme, ordered it to be engraved, in 1772, and they availed themselves for the occasion, of the magic art, of our famous Beauvarlet. This engraving, was always much sought after, and was already scarce when M. du Châtelet travelled in Portugal. *Editor.*

ter, and, I think, it has not one fencing master.*

This succinct view, shews, that, the Portuguese, in every thing connected with the arts and sciences, and even manufactures, are in an almost barbarous state. All these defects arise from the same cause; the want of energy, and foresight, in the government; the little opportunity of instruction, and above all (we cannot too often repeat it) from the influence of priests, and monks, whose greatest

* Instructors in these branches of education, are yet very few in number, at Lisbon. They have some, however, for these several attainments, at the college of nobles, whence they go, and give lessons in the city. M. du Châtelet, does not advert to the science of music, which is, notwithstanding, much cultivated at Lisbon. Concerts are the principal amusements of the Portuguese, and they have some amateurs, who would do no discredit to any musical society. There is still another art, in which the Portuguese excel, that is, horsemanship: not that they have able professors in this way, but every nobleman has a private riding-house. There the father, children, and servants, practise horsemanship, with assiduity, and success, so that men, who, sit the animal with firmness, and grace, are not uncommon in Portugal, and especially at Lisbon. *Editor.*

interest it is, to keep the people in profound ignorance.

This influence is not counterbalanced by the advantages arising from the influx of strangers, and especially, the English, who, abound in the capital, and who arrive from all parts, to that port.

It is at first, astonishing, that, such frequent intercourse with the more enlightened nations, should not have produced striking effects, upon the Portuguese nation; but, when we examine Lisbon, a little closely, it is explained, by this sort of imperviousness to knowledge, and tenacious adherence to prejudice.

The Portuguese, who have not travelled, live almost constantly in the interior. Superstition, and the horrible tribunal, which supports it, renders them gloomy, distrustful, and on their guard against all strangers, and especially heretics. On their part, the English, who find their advantage, in this universal torpor of their precious allies, take care not to rouse them.

Naturally reserved, in Lisbon, they are more so, than elsewhere. They associate mostly together. The embellishments, the conveniencies, the enjoyments of life, are almost exclusively concentred in their dwellings. Their taste for the country, and for all that it affords, has, however, contributed to enliven the suburbs of Lisbon.

Here is a very striking difference between this capital, and that of Spain, much to the advantage of the former: the out-skirts o Lisbon, are well cultivated. Gardens, and country seats, are sprinkled about, in profusion, and, on whichever side that city is approached, whether by land or by sea, every thing combines to bespeak a most delightful town. On entering the city, the illusion vanishes.

The environs of Lisbon excepted, agriculture, the most important of all the arts, is unaccountably neglected, and there is no prospect of its restoration to the eminent state, in which it was formerly.*

* Domingos-Vandille, one of the most enlightened mem-

bers of the Academy of Lisbon, thus expresses himself on the agriculture of Portugal:

"The present state of agriculture, is well known: more than two-thirds of the kingdom is uncultivated, and, yet, prior to the fifteenth century, (that is, before our establishments in Asia, and Africa, and the discovery of Brasil), this country produced, not only, what was necessary for the subsistence of its inhabitants, but, also, a superfluity for its neighbours. This sterility cannot be attributed to the great portion of sandy, and stony land, in Portugal, because such soils, as I have already proved in a Memoir, on the Utility of Botanic Gardens, are capable of some kind of culture; but it is to be ascribed to the few hands, engaged in agriculture, the scarcity of cattle, which is a consequence of the deficiency of artificial meadows; to the rents; state of servitude, and the imposts, to which land is subjected; to the difficulties of intercourse, and conveyance; the want of roads, and inland navigation; to the distribution of the farms, the disposal of which, is often suspended, and which are often abandoned for a long time, on account of the numerous and endless law-suits, to which they are exposed; inconveniencies, that our legislator are aware of, and which they are endeavouring to dissipate by wise laws."

This note, contains a short view, of a great number of the obstacles opposed to the prosperity of Portugal. The penetration of M. Vandelli, has, no doubt, apprized him of all the others, but, prudential motives, induce him to suppress them; and this reserve, which, imperious circumstances proscribe to the most dauntless and enlightened Portuguese, is one of the more prominent causes of the languor, to which their country has been long consigned. *Editor.*

CHAPTER XVII.

Policy.

POLICY, of which the name is familiarly used, by so many, who, are ignorant of its true meaning, indicates, neither more nor less, than the science of rendering a people happy, and prosperous, as well by interior administration, as by foreign connections.

Correct morals, and wise laws, acquire the first of these objects, and, in this view, we have shewn sufficiently, how defective is the policy, or art of governing, in Portugal.

Her external policy, has not been less, since the period, when her transient splendor gave way to her degeneracy, and subjection.

The distant possessions, she had acquired, rendered a great maritime establishment requisite, but the mother-country, was too limited in

extent, and possessed too few internal resources, to furnish supplies, adequate to the support of such extensive colonies. Then, it was, that she found herself, by her own imbecility, at the mercy of that power, which had the best means to render its protection, or to make her believe, that, such protection was, necessary.

The Portuguese had every motive for distrusting the Spaniards, and for cherishing hatred, and envy, against them. These two nations, are neighbours in Europe, as well as in America. The identity of almost all their European and colonial productions, rendering them unnecessary, to each other, there is nothing common between them, but, rivalry, and jealousy; and these odious sentiments, have been cherished, by a succession of circumcumstances, to which their close vicinity gave rise.

At many periods, Portugal has been under the dominion of Spain. Spain, far from endeavouring to amalgamate two nations, the resemblance of whose soil, climate, and even manners, made them, as it were, one fraternity, sought only to make her yoke less tolerable,

and the Portuguese, treated more like slaves, than subjects, after having watched, during 60 years of slavery, for the opportunity of freeing themselves, from that hateful subjection, at length, found it, in 1640; marshalled under the law of their own Sovereign, they brought to mind all the injuries they had suffered, from their oppressors; and the first resentment this excited, added still more to the intense national hatred.

The English have never neglected to cultivate these seeds of discord. They found the double benefit of stirring up, in hostility to Spain, a neighbour, rendered formidable by their support; and, of obtaining, as the price of their protection, advantages for their commerce, and navigation. Portugal, too, on her side, hastened to throw herself into the arms of a power, who inspired her with courage to face a detested neighbour, and whose commanding navy, could defend her possessions in Africa, and the two Indies, and from whom, she believed, she had nothing to fear.

From this unequal alliance, she hoped every thing. The calamitous results could

only be known from slow experience, and she believed herself to be still protected, at the moment she was enslaved beyond redemption.

On the death of Charles II. in 1700, the throne of Spain became vacant, and produced new combinations. The crown was disputed by two rival princes, the Archduke, and the Duke of Anjou Both had a powerful party in Spain. Either might be successful. In favour of whom, was Portugal to decide? She would have had little hesitation, had her actions been free; but, under the influence of England, she was compelled to espouse the cause, adverse to the pretensions of the House of Bourbon, which, aimed, at the same time, to fill the two most powerful thrones in Europe. Her choice was soon made, or rather dictated.

The partizans of the Archduke, kept up a correspondence in Portugal, and found a refuge there in the hour of danger. The port of Lisbon, was open to the English, and the Archduke.

The Court of London, did not fail to seize this opportunity of rivetting the chains of Portugal, and, under the appearance of friendship, and reciprocity of advantages, to strike a vital blow, at her industry.

It was, on the breaking out of the war of the succession of Spain, that England concluded with Portugal, that, so fatal treaty, known by the name of "the Treaty of Mithuen," of which, 60 years experience, have been scarcely sufficient to make Portugal sensible of all its effects.

The cabinets of Sovereigns do not always partake of the foresight of the people, whom they govern. These two main branches of the House of Bourbon, have endeavoured, on many occasions, to oppose, or, at least, to moderate, national animosity, by family alliances.

The Infanta of Spain, first betrothed to Louis XV., and afterwards, sent back from France, was married to the Prince of Brasil, who, afterwards, under the name of Joseph I.

reigned in Portugal; and the good understanding she always preserved with her family, at Madrid, if it have not entirely prevented any misunderstanding between Spain and Portugal, has, at least, softened the animosity, and rendered a reconciliation less difficult.

At the same period, a Portuguese Princess, was united to the heir of the throne of Spain (Ferdinand VI). This Princess, indeed, (known by the name of Queen Barbara,) educated in attachment to the English, preserved that feeling; and as long as this weak husband continued to reign, under her controul, the Court of London, had to congratulate itself upon the docility of those, of Madrid, and Lisbon.

But the House of Bourbon, never lost sight of the project of separating Portugal, from the political alliance with England, by an union of the Houses. Immediately after the conclusion of the family compact, the Cabinets of Versailles, and of Madrid, proposed to the Court of Lisbon, to accede to it, alleging, the common origin of the House of

Bourbon, and of the reigning family in Portugal, since the time of Count Henry of Burgundy.

In favour of this arrangement, Portugal was immediately to renounce her connection with, and to shut her ports against, England, and to unite her troops with those of France, and Spain. These propositions made in a menacing tone, by two ambassadors, M. Torrero, from Spain, and M. O'Dume of France), sent expressly for the occasion, to Lisbon, irritated, instead of conciliated, M. de Pombal. It was necessary, however, to determine between the offers proposed, and immediate wars.

The House of Bourbon would no longer admit Portugal to maintain this dissembled neutrality, from which, England derived most advantages. M. de Pombal was haughty and obstinate.* No Portuguese despised the Spa-

* The answer of this minister to the menaces of the two ambassadors, is well known. Being pressed for a definitive answer, within a short time, he declared, that the King, his master, would rather sell the very tiles of his palace, than

niards so much as he did. Their troops, assisted as they were, by those of France, did not appear, to him, in any wise, formidable. He defied the resentment of these two great powers: hostilities commenced, and the result justified, in a great degree, his confidence.

From that time, however, the yoke that England imposed on his country, appeared to him, both humiliating and injurious, but he did not think it the proper time to throw it off.

England was, at this period, in the height of her maritime powers. As she could protect, so she could punish, Portugal. It was by slow means, that he was disposed to relieve his country from the authority of the English. He wished to connect himself, in secret, with the House of Bourbon, and especially of France, for which he entertained some respect. In pursuance of this project, he

submit to conditions so humiliating. Never was a negotiation more speedily terminated. The two ambassadors had no reply to make, and their sudden departure, was a declaration of war. *Editor.*

proposed the marriage of the Prince of Beira, (now Prince of Brasil,) with one of the French Princesses.

The proposition was made at Versailles, where only one difficulty arose. According to the laws of Portugal, which exclude strangers from the throne, this French Princess, could never reign, during the life of the Queen, then Princess of Brasil. The Court of France would not consent to the marriage, unless the consort of the Prince of Brasil should become Queen on the event of his ascending the throne. Pombal, who was very anxious for this alliance, pursuaded King Joseph to sign an act of renunciation for his daughter.

The act was prepared. Four persons, only, were in the secret; the King, the French ambassador, Pombal, and the Secretary of State, Siabra. This man owed every thing to the Prime Minister, and obtained a mark of confidence, which he proved little worthy of. The Queen, whom he apprized of what was doing, sent for her daughter, and forbade

her to sign any paper without informing her, although the King himself, should present it.

She is indebted for the throne, she now fills, to the indiscretion of Siabra; for, blindly submissive to her father's will, she would have signed whatever he desired.

The King, who was ignorant of what had passed, went to his daughter, and took from his pocket, the paper, containing the fatal renunciation, which he pressed her to sign. The Princess desired a moment's consideration, observing, that she wished for the advice of her mother, whom she requested permission to consult.

The King directly saw, that the secret had been betrayed, and withdrew, in disgust, without uttering a word. Pombal, informed of the transaction, was extremely indignant with the culprit. Siabra was arrested, and sent to a settlement, on the coast of Barbary, where he remained until the King's death.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, Pombal, during the remainder of his administra-

tion, never lost sight of the accession of Portugal to the family compact. The quarrels in Brasil, which arose some years afterwards, suspended the execution of the project; but it will be, ultimately, resumed, and if that minister now presided in Portugal, he would, no doubt, avail himself of the embarrassment of England, from the situation of her American colonies, to obtain for Portugal, an ally, less mercenary, and less imperious.

These family connections, which modify, more or less, the political system, have on many occasions, influenced the destiny of Portugal. Without these, her subservience to England, would have been still more inevitable; but, for these, the Court of Portugal would have been more exposed to the resentment of the House of Bourbon, which, circumstances have often constrained her to provoke.

The war of 1762, would have broken out sooner, and have been more active. Queen Isabella Farnèse, who, from the time her son, Charles III. ascended the throne, took a considerable part in the government of Spain,

frequently suspended, from her affection, for her daughter, the Queen of Portugal, the rigid decisions of the Cabinet of Madrid, with regard to that power, and it was a severe blow to her, not to be able to prevent the rupture, which the obstinacy of M. de Pombal rendered inevitable.

More recently in the war, which is just terminated, the friendship that Charles III. had always entertained for his sister, the Queen of Portugal, the present Queen-dowager, has greatly facilitated the reconciliation of the two powers; and the journey of that Princess to Madrid, has removed the difficulties, which, without her interference, would, at least, have retarded the conclusion of peace.

The politics of Portugal, on this occasion, are wholly inexplicable. The untractable and angry temper of the Marquis de Pombal, his pride, his contempt of the Spaniards, and especially of the minister, who then directed their councils, the Marquis de Grimaldi, alone, can explain a conduct, which so many motives seem to condemn, and, which, rendered

necessary to Portugal that protection of the English, which M. de Pombal had, himself, so impatiently endured.

It is in this manner, that the passions of a single individual, when he possesses energy, and great influence, lead to unexpected events, both with respect to the government over which he presides, and to himself, and become the stumbling block of those frigid calculators, who attempt to explain every thing by ordinary rules, who suppose that all is foreseen, that the whole may be combined and applied to a regular system, so as to produce the result intended by those who preside over the fates of empires.

The truth is, however, in spite of appearances, that when Pombal seemed most intent upon provoking Spain, an account of the affairs of Brasil, and by such means, exposed himself to the resentment of France; he had, at his heart, the strongest prepossession against the disastrous system, which, for so long a time, had rendered his country dependent upon England, and which, the Court of London itself, which must secretly favour an order

of things calculated to alienate Portugal entirely from the House of Bourbon, considered inexcusable in M. de Pombal.

The sagacious minister wished, no doubt, to involve this Court in his quarrel; but how could he reconcile this plan with his favourite design of, insensibly, releasing Portugal from her attachment to her haughty ally? That he should yet cajole it, on account of a war, which was inevitable, is natural to suppose; but, how, at the time, when England was itself engaged, could he provoke a rupture, which some slight concessions towards France and Spain, might have prevented? How could he deceive them by illusive promises, at the time when he secretly gave counter instruction at Brasil? What induced him, by sea and land, to make preparations, which rendered it necessary for Spain to do the like, and which, in 1776, was the cause of a renewal of hostilities between the two powers?

These points which the best sources of information, the Memoirs of the Courts of London, Madrid, and Versailles, and the dispatches of their ambassadors, cannot ex-

plain, and this conduct of the Portuguese government, or rather of M. de Pombal, who then possessed absolute sway, will remain an enigma, inexplicable, to posterity, unless the new order of things, which has begun since the dismissal of M. de Pombal, should furnish the clue.

Already, have the parental relations resumed their ascendency. As soon as the new Queen, by removing her turbulent minister, had taken the reins of government into her own hands, it was, by confidential communications between this Princess, and the King of Spain, her uncle, that a good understanding began to be restored between the two powers.

Orders to suspend hostilities, in South America, were sent on both sides. The successes of Spain, the news of which arrived after the commencement of the negotiation, did not impede its progress, and peace was signed on the first of October, 1777. Some obstacles were yet to be removed; some concessions to be sought. The Queen-dowager of Portugal, païd a visit, to her brother, Charles III. and, while she was at the Spanish Court, the defini-

tive treaty was concluded, at Pardo, on the 24th of March, 1778. It has been supposed, that this Princess indulged the hope of acquiring the compliance from her brother, more, than she in fact, obtained, and that she had even gone so far as to solicit two parts of Galicia, Bayonne, and Vigo; but, we dare not affirm, that she had any such views. It was surely enough for Spain, after a war, the commencement of which had been advantageous to her, and whose continuance, might have been destructive to Portugal, to confine itself, to the stipulations of the two treaties, to which we shall now advert, and of which, we shall give the substance.

Extract of a Treaty of Peace, concluded at Pardo on the first October, 1777.

"There shall be a perpetual peace, as well by sea, as by land, in every part of the world whatsoever, between the two Portuguese and Spanish nations. The past, and all reciprocal hostilities, shall be wholly sunk in oblivion. The treaties, of the 13th of February, 1668, 6th of February, 1715, and 10th of February, 1763, are ratified, as if they were incorporated

herein, word for word, excepting, in the sequel, expressly annulled.

"All the prisoners, which shall have been made, as well by land, as by sea, shall be, forthwith, set at liberty, without any condition, but that of securing the payment of the debts they may have contracted, in the country where they are. The artillery, and ammunition, which the two powers have taken, since the treaty of Paris, of the 10th of February, 1763, to this day; all vessels, as well merchants, as of war, their cargoes, artillery, and every thing else, taken by the laws of war, shall be, reciprocally, restored, within the period of the four months succeeding the ratification of this treaty, or even before, if possible.

"The two powers agree upon the places where they may navigate. The rivers of La Plata, and Uraguay, as well as the land, on the two north, and south, banks, shall belong exclusively to the crown of Spain.

"Her most faithful Majesty, for herself, and in the name of her heirs, and successors, renounces all the powers and rights, which might belong

to her, in the said territories, by virtue of the fifth and sixth articles, of the treaty of Utrecht.

" In order to avoid all other subjects of dispute, between the two monarchies, as they have been, concerning the entrance of the morass of Patos, at the mouth of the great river St. Pedro, and the banks of this river, as far as the river Jami, to which the two crowns claimed a right, both to the banks, and to the navigation, they henceforward agree, that the said navigation, and entrance of the river, shall belong, exclusively, to Portugal, and that its territory, shall extend along the southern bank, to the fall of Tahim, continuing along the morass of Monguiera, in a direct line towards the sea; and on the Continent, the line shall extend from the border of the morass of Merin, taking the direction of the first southern fall, which disembogues at the mouth, and which proceeds nearest to the Portuguese fort of St. Gonzales, whence, without passing the banks of the said fall, the territory of Portugal, shall extend, by the sources of the rivers that descend, to the great rivers, undermentioned, and that of the Jami; then passing by the rivers, Piritary, and Himiny, which have remained in

the possession of Spain, a line shall be drawn along the Portuguese settlements, to the spot, where the Pepery Guaza falls, into the Uraguay. The same line shall mark the limits of the Spanish settlements on the Uraguay. The commissioners shall be compelled to verify that line, to follow it in the direction of the summits of the mountains, and the mouths of the said rivers. The sources of the rivers, as well as their mouths, shall define the frontiers of the two territories, and the rivers are to be considered in the same territory, from their sources to their mouths."

" His Catholic Majesty, in his own name, and in the name of his heirs, and successors, renounces, in favour of her most faithful Majesty, her heirs, and successors, all the rights, of what nature soever, they may be, which might appertain to him, in these territories, which, according to the tenor of these articles, shall belong to the Crown of Portugal.

" In proof of the union, and friendship, which these two august sovereigns so earnestly desire, his Catholic Majesty offers to restore, and evacuate, before the space of four months,

calculating from the day of the ratification of this treaty, the island of St. Catharine, and the part of the continent adjoining, occupied by Spanish armies, with the artillery, ammunition and other effects, which may have been formed while the Spaniards occupied it; and her most faithful Majesty, by virtue of this restitution, promises, that she will not, at any time, permit any foreign vessel, trading, or warlike, to enter into the port of the said island, of St. Catharine, nor to retire along the neighbouring coasts, particularly, if they are the vessels of powers at war with the Crown of Spain, which might be suspected of carrying on contraband trade," &c. &c.

The Catholic King, and the most faithful Queen, immediately sent out orders for the punctual execution of all that is stipulated in this last article.

In the mean time, the second treaty was negotiated and signed. Here follows the principal contents of the articles of it.

Extract of a Treaty, concluded at Pardo, between the King of Spain, and his most faithful Queen.

March 24, 1778.

The treaties of 1668, of 1715, at Utrecht, and of 1763, at Paris, are laid down as a basis, as in the preliminary treaty, concluded the first of October, 1777.

But difficulties having arisen, as to some passages in the treaty of Paris, in order to prevent the same in future, their Majesties have agreed to give the former treaties, all necessary explanation, for the purpose of establishing between them, that concord which ought to result from their situation, vicinity, from the old and new ties which unite them, the identity of their origin, and the reciprocal interests of both nations. For this purpose, the plenipotentiaries have agreed on the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

Conformably to that of 1668, and other treaties, more ancient, there shall subsist between the two sovereigns, the same alliance, which there was during the reigns of Charles I. and

Philip II. of Spain, and Emmanuel and Sebastian of Portugal.

II.

Their Majesties will undertake, in no part of the world, neither war, nor alliance, nor measure, which can injure either of them respectively; on the contrary, they will mutually communicate, whatever the one shall discover to the prejudice of the other, which shall, also, be observed, by their subjects, governors, viceroys, &c.

III.

They mutually guarantee their possessions in Europe, and renew the guarantee, determined, in the treaty of limits, of 1750; presuming, at all times, that the limits of South America, are fixed according to the tenor of the preliminary treaty, of the first of October, 1777. The XXVth article of the said treaty, of 1750, is, consequently, inserted in this, word for word.

IV.

If one of the two crowns, (without being included in the view of that guarantee) be at war

with another power, the other shall preserve the most scrupulous neutrality; with this reservation, that in case of invasion, by the inimical power, the reciprocal defence promised by the two crowns, is to be *without breach of the engagements, which may have been into with other powers of Europe.**

V.

Although, by the twenty-second article of the preliminary treaty of St. Idlefonso, it has been stipulated, that no foreign vessel shall be received into the island of St. Catherine, nor upon the neighbouring coast, the case, where hospitality may be requisite, is excepted; it not being wished, thereby, to drive from that

* That restriction reduces within a small compass, the assistance, upon which Portugal was to calculate from Spain. The latter power, being allied to France, by an *offensive* and *defensive* treaty, is in the predicament of aiding France even against Portugal; so that the new treaty excepts the anterior engagements of the two contracting parties. Portugal, therefore, obtained nothing but the assurance of being defended by Spain against the encroachments of England. But what appearance was there of a war, between Portugal and England, unless the former were drawn into it by Spain or France, or by both of them? Most treaties are thus replete with insignificant and illusory stipulations. *Editor.*

coast, either Spanish or Brasil vessels, when they are forced upon it by stress of weather.

VI.

The article of the treaty of Utrecht, which stipulates in what case, criminals, demanded by one of the two powers, shall be delivered up by the other, is renewed. To the crimes before declared, are added those of coinage, contraband trade in goods, absolutely prohibited, and desertion. The power of taking more particular measures, for the execution of this article, is reserved.

VII.

The articles of the peace of Utrecht, which stipulate, that in affairs of commerce, each power shall treat the other, on the footing of the most favoured nation, are repeated and renewed.

VIII.

For the application of these articles, it is agreed that they will take, as a rule, the third and fourth articles of the treaty of 1668, which provide; First, That the respective subjects shall have free communication from one terri-

tory to the other, and that commerce shall be conducted by sea and land, in the same way as under King Sebastian. Secondly, That the respective subjects shall enjoy, in this respect, without any exception, the privileges granted to those of Great Britain, by the treaty of 1667, between that power and Spain.

IX.

The treaty of 1667, shall, therefore, be common to both nations, without any other modifications, than those which the crowns of Spain and England, have stipulated between themselves. The Spanish and Portuguese nations, again reserve to themselves, the privileges they enjoyed under Sebastian.

X.

They will, consequently, revise the ancient tariffs of the respective rights, exacted by the two crowns, and they will amend them according to the tenor of the said treaties, and conformably to the variations which they have experienced since that time; the name, and price, of the rated merchandize, and other particulars.

XI.

The species of merchandize prohibited by the

one or the other, shall be specified; and their majesties agree, to confine their prohibitions to articles absolutely necessary, assimilating themselves, reciprocally, to the more favoured* nations.

XII.

A collection of the reciprocal privileges in force, under the reign of King Sebastian, shall also be prepared, and shall be considerd to form a part of this treaty.

XIII.

In order that their respective subjects may carry on the slave trade, without being confined, as formerly, to foreign companies, and to compensate for the concessions made by his Catholic Majesty, to her most faithful Majesty, the latter cedes to the King of Spain, the island of Annobon, on the coast of Africa, as that of Fernando-del-Po, in the gulf of Guinea; that the Spaniards may traffic on the shores oppo-

* There has resulted to the Spaniards, no new advantage from this stipulation. They have but very few articles to supply to Portugal; and England will, for a long period, have nothing to fear, from their acceptance of the manufactured merchandize, with which she furnishes the Portuguese. *Editor.*

site that island, without interfering as heretofore, with the trade of the Portuguese, especially of those settled in the islands of the Prince and St. Thomas.

XIV.

Spanish vessels, making for any harbour in the Portuguese islands, of the Prince and St. Thomas, shall be received as those of the most favoured nation. The same conduct shall be observed, towards Portuguese ships, at the island of Annobon and Fernando-del-Po.

XV.

A slave trade shall take place, between the two Spanish and the two Portuguese islands, and if the Portuguese bring slaves to the Spanish islands, they shall be paid in ready money, provided the price be suited to the quality of the negroes, and shall not be higher than that required by other nations.

XVI.

His Catholic Majesty promises, that for four years, rolled tobacco shall be furnished to his two new islands, from Brasil; on which head, there shall be a formal contract, wherein

the necessary quantity of tobacco, shall be fixed. At the expiration of the four years, it shall be decided, whether the term of the contract should or should not be extended.*

XVII.

As the articles of this treaty, or some of them, may be applied to other powers, whom the high contracting parties, may consider it desirable, to invite, to accede to them; their Catholic, and most faithful Majesties, reserve to themselves, to agree upon this point, and, under all the circumstances, to determine the manner of executing it, conformably to the reciprocal interests of the two crowns, and of

* These four articles XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, have been almost ineffectual in regard to Spain. The four islands in question, are very near to each other, in a north-east and south-west direction. These two ceded to Spain, are situated at the two extremities of that line; Fernando-Po is very near the coast of Guinea, and Annobon at some distance from the coast of Loango to the south of the equator; but the Portuguese themselves, at the time of the signature of the treaty, were not in undisturbed possession of the first, and the second had nothing which could render it desirable for the purpose of an establishment for the slave trade *Editor.*

that, or those, who shall be invited, or desire to accede to them.*

XVIII.

The high contracting parties will order this treaty to be published and executed.

XIX.

It shall be ratified fifteen days, or sooner, after being signed,

In faith of which, &c.

The signature of the Plenipotentiary is of the 11th of March, 1778.

The ratification of the King on the 24th.

* We have only given the substance of all the articles of this treaty, but as the 17th contains a stipulation which particularly respects France, although this power is not mentioned, we have copied the whole of it. Thus it was that the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, had agreed with that of France, to obtain her implicit concurrence with this treaty. The English, as may be supposed, were not deceived by such concealment. But to the present time, nothing has resulted from the transaction, to their disadvantage; it was not completed until 1783, and has remained a mere dead letter.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHAPTER ON POLICY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE author, whose work we are publishing, has been able to collect but very vague notions, respecting the political situation of Portugal. At the time when he travelled, the details of the expedition to Brasil, which had been but just terminated, the causes, which had given rise to it, what were the results, and what opinions prevailed, more or less, in the Cabinet of Lisbon, after the resignation of M. de Pombal, were very imperfectly known to him.

We shall endeavour to supply what is deficient in this part of his work, by submitting, in this place, a recapitulation, the particulars of which we have drawn from au-

thentic sources, of the military operations in Spanish America, and on the negotiation which interrupted them. We shall, further, add some reflections on the political conduct of Portugal to the present moment.

In the course of 1776, the errors of M. de Pombal, were at the highest pitch, as well as the resentment of Spain and France. In spite of the dangerous illness of the King of Portugal, he still remained inflexible. He preserved his credit to the last moment, and while the monarch yet breathed, the Queen, who had the title of Regent, was but the interpreter of this audacious minister, in whom she was very far from reposing confidence.

Pombal continued to put the Portuguese troops on a respectable footing. He fortified the frontier towns, and established a military hospital; in short, under circumstances so critical to himself, personally, his hostile preparations were so menacing, that we were alarmed for the safety of Spain.

This Court resisted the solicitations of the Count d'Aranda, at that time, its ambassador

in France, who, either actuated by patriotic hatred of the Portuguese, or anxious to display his military talents against them, and to revenge himself for the campaign of 1762, contended for a military war, with the warmth which characterised him. Spain depended, moreover, on the approaching death of the King of Portugal, and the success of her General, Cevallos.

Already had hostilities commenced in America. Cevallos sailed from Cadiz, on the 13th Nov. 1776, with troops and a squadron. His convoy having been dispersed, he cast anchor at the island of Trinidad, to give them time to re-assemble.

Shortly aft r this happened, he met with one of those unexpected adventures, which frequently decide the fate of a campaign, sooner than the wisest councils. This was the capture of a Portuguese frigate, bound from Rio-Janiero to Lisbon.

By the letters which she had on board, he found, that the force and destination of the Spanish fleet was well known at Brasil.

The same letters apprized him of the means taken by the Portuguese, to defeat his expedition, which was intended against the island of St. Catharine.

Their squadron was to bear up for the bay of Garupas, situated above the entrance of the strait, which separates that island from the Continent, allow the Spanish fleet to enter this narrow passage, and there keep it blocked up.

On this subject, arose the first quarrel between the Marquis de Casa-Tilly, Admiral of the fleet, who was for entering the river La Plata, to take possession of the colony of St. Sacrament; and the General, who wished to make the most of his discovery, and had nothing in view, but his own personal glory. "Do you take care that nothing enters the island of St. Catharine by sea," said he, in a letter addressed to the Marquis de Casa-Tilly, in the arrogant and presumptuous tone to which he was accustomed, "I will be answerable for the operations on shore." His opinion prevailed, and the event justified his calculations.

On arriving, 10th of Feb. 1777, in view of St. Catharine, he found the Portuguese posted, according the plan described in the intercepted letter. The two squadrons remained a long time in sight, standing off and on, by turns, pretending a wish for an engagement.

The Portuguese, at last, disconcerted to find their plan discovered, withdrew. The Spaniards immediately anchored their squadron, and their troops disembarked without any obstacle. The Portuguese forces, struck with the same terror, that pervaded their fleet, evacuated the island, and retired to the Continent.

Cevallos pursued them, and compelled four battalions, and four thousand auxiliaries to lay down their arms. This brilliant commencement did not, however, save him from the imputation of having, with his usual temerity, undertaken the landing, without ascertaining that there were no ambuscades on this irregular, and woody coast.

He lost a month on the island, in preparing a fleet of 84 sail, which he destined for

the attack of Rio-Grande. Having re-embarked at the end of March, a storm dispersed the squadron, which did not re-unite, till they arrived at Monte Video, in the La Plata* river. Many vessels were dismasted. When they were repaired, the fleet again sailed, but it again became the sport of the elements, and was obliged to bring to, at the island of St. Catherine.

All Casa-Tilly's plans were thus disconcerted, and Cevallos, who remained at Monte Video, neglected to supply him with provisions.

The Admiral, whose wish it was, to have pursued the Portuguese fleet to the mouth of Rio-Janiero, was reduced to confine his naval operations to a cruize between St. Catherine's, and Rio-Grande; but not meeting any of the enemy's ships, he thought it best, after a multitude of crosses, to return to the Rio de la Plata. It was not without great difficulty, that he, at last, succeeded in gain-

* Some very interesting "Notes on the Vice-royalty of La Plata," with an accurate narrative of the British expedition in that country, in 1807, have been published by Mr. Tyrrell.

ing the port of Monte Video, in spite of rocks, currents, and those violent south-west winds, which always prevail at that season. He was still occupied in the repair of his squadron, when the news of the suspension of hostilities arrived.

In the mean while, Cevallos had again lost a month, in making preparations for his expedition against the colony of St. Sacrament. Anxious to make a parade of preparation, as useless as it was expensive, he retained the whole convoy, although he could only make use of a small part of it. Ostentation, negligence, and haughtiness, equally directed the operations of this siege. He knew that the governor of St. Sacrament had determined to surrender, but he, notwithstanding, made such preparations for the attack, as served only to dissipate the funds of the King of Spain, to no purpose.

While his intended siege was going on, he gave but one written order; it was, that the trenches should be opened; and he copied it, word for word, from the Marquis de Santa Cruz, on tactics.

The colony of St. Sacrament, however, surrendered, and this conquest of Cevallos, as easy as that of St. Catharine, was a further addition to his glory, for which he was indebted to his own good stars, and to the pusillanimity of his enemies. At last, he received an account of the suspension of arms, when he was pretending to meditate an attack on Rio Grande. Will it be believed, that he kept for a whole month, the letter which conveyed the same intelligence to the Marquis de Casa-Tilly! It was thus that he constantly treated this Admiral, and all who were under his orders.

There was but one opinion respecting him in the Spanish fleet, and among the officers of the army; but his reputation for bravery, and the little attention he paid to discipline, had gained him the affection of his troops; and his successes, exaggerated by distance, tifled the clamours of the many discontented. Besides, his principal antagonist was not without his share of blame: the inactivity of his fleet, during the whole campaign, and the repeated disasters which he had met with, were attributed to his want of activity and foresight.

Cevallos complained bitterly of his insubordination, and of the little assistance he had received from him, and was most attended to; so that this expedition against the Portuguese, fortunate in the trivial loss to the Spanish troops, was considered as the disgrace of her navy, and detracted much from the reputation of the Marquis de Casa Tilly. The quarrel of these two officers, led to a council of war, which Cevallos did not see the end of. He died on his return to Madrid, in the course of the year 1778.

Casa Tilly was long in disgrace, and the maritime war, which happened soon afterwards, left him unemployed.

The events of the campaign of 1777, produced, in the end, no change in the pacific dispositions of the court of Madrid. Satisfied with having procured for herself, the object she required, she listened to the first propositions, made by that of Lisbon, immediately on the death of Joseph I., and the dismissal of M. de Pombal. They agreed upon an armistice, with a clause, that the affairs of South America should remain in the same state

that they might be in, on the arrival of the respective orders, which were forwarded by both parties in the course of June.

The news of the taking of St. Catharine, did not make a very material impression on the court of Lisbon, which only saw, in it, an additional reason for coming to an accommodation; but it gave great offence to the cabinet of London: the English did not hesiatet to declare, that this expedition was a direct breach of the assurance given by M. de Grimaldi, that the Spanish arms should not act, but on the very theatre of dispute.

They pretended, that the designs of Spain on Brasil, were, by this means, discovered. But it was easy to see, that these complaints had no other foundation, than the regret at seeing the source of dispute between Spain and Portugal so soon extinguished.

The two courts, of Versailles and Madrid, thought, that the moment had arrived for detaching Portugal from an ally, who, far from being interested in her prosperity, seemed to have plotted her ruin; and who took so

little pains to conceal the vexation occasioned by her having escaped a disastrous war. Circumstances were propitious; the new Queen had a secret aversion to the English, and a real affection for the King of Spain, her uncle; they wished also to interest her self-love, by avowing the ancient pretensions of the House of Braganza, to a common origin with that of Bourbon.

They reminded her, that John V. of whom France and Spain had so much cause to complain, would have, perhaps, sacrificed every thing to have obtained this avowal. Higher interests seemed to attract Portugal to an alliance with them. A secondary power could not fail to be the loser in a war: Portugal by land, had no attacks to fear from any country but Spain, in alliance with her, of what value would then be the exclusive friendship of England, which made her purchase, by an oppressive monopoly, that assistance which would become useless when she had nothing more to fear, either from France or Spain?

We do not, however, dissemble that the

new projected alliance would likewise be advantageous to us. This, once, concluded, we might hope to see the English, no longer take, as in former wars, the coasts of Portugal for the scene of her cruizers, and its ports for arsenals and asylums; and Spain, must gain, as well as France, by this change in the relations of Portugal.

Such were our arguments, and our wishes, whilst the court of Madrid was negotiating its first treaty with Portugal. Spain seemed to adopt them, but she believed, and we agreed with her, that the pusillanimity of the new Portuguese government, still required some management; her foreign relations were then confided to M. de Sa, a minister of probity, and well inclined towards France, but weak and timid; and the character of his Sovereign was not likely to inspire him with boldness.

The Spanish minister, therefore, persuaded us to temporize. Besides, he was not unwilling to consult, exclusively, his own interests, and would not, for our sake, exhaust the good will of Portugal, in the negotiation which was

beginning to be acted upon, and which opened with some difficulties. In fact, the cabinet of Lisbon, at first, seemed rather to exact; it required the cession of pretty large territories, on the theatre of dispute; it was desirous, above all, to keep both banks of the Rio Grande de San Pedro, although the famous line of demarcation of Alexander VI. gave, Spain, an incontrovertible right to all the territory contiguous to this river.

Our cabinet, which feared nothing so much as that delays might favour the intrigues of England, advised, that the council of Madrid should appear easy on this unimportant article. What would Spain have acquired, by the possession of the territories in dispute? They were of much greater importance to Portugal; serving as a rampart to the mines of Matagrosso, which it possessed, within reach of Rio Grande.

Spain might, therefore, relinquish it without regret, provided that, by the cession, without equivalent, of St. Sacrament, which had just been conquered, she obtained, at the back of this colony, a favourable line of demar-

cation, which would effectually prevent contraband trade.

The court of Spain followed our advice: that of Lisbon, from the remains of her fear of Great Britain, allowed herself to be a little pressed, on the article for the reciprocal guarantee of the dominions of the two powers, and also on that for the admission of enemies' ships, into their respective ports. The preliminary treaty of peace, was at length signed at St. Ildefonso, 1st. Oct. 1777, and, very soon after, the Queen-dowager of Portugal began her journey to the Escurial where Charles III. then was.

During the second negotiation, which followed this treaty, the cabinet of Versailles endeavoured, anew, to draw closer the bonds of friendship with Portugal. There had been between that kingdom and France, some difficulties, of which we had wished that the Count de Florida Blanca (successor to M. de Grimaldi), had solved in the treaty which he prepared.

We did not require, that the court of Lis-

bon should suddenly break off its connection with the English; they had been sometimes useful to it, and they might appear valuable. But, as the price of the assistance that this court expected from them, Portugal had given them commercial advantages, of which, nothing, ought to prevent our participation.

We did not require, that she should enter directly into negotiation with us. We were contented, for the moment, with an indirect renewal of our connections, with our taking, upon ourselves, the guarantee of the engagement, that she was about to form.

This engagement interested us also, personally, in another point of view. It was to define the limits, hitherto undetermined, of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions on the Amazons river. We also had some disputes, in that country, with Portugal. Subsequent to the peace of Utrecht, we were in the same uncertainty, with respect to the line of demarcation between French and Portuguese Guiana. We were anxious to take advantage of the connection, between Spain and Portugal, to remove this uncertainty.

The new Portuguese minister, for some time, appeared to enter into our views. He began, by himself proposing to us, the abolition of that right, of inheriting the property of aliens, which, to the disgrace of polished nations, had subsisted so long among them.

He even insinuated to us, that his court might contract an alliance with ours, and with that of Madrid, on conditions, not, absolutely, inconsistent with his political, and mercantile, engagements with Great Britain. So far we were agreed. We only asked of Portugal to put us on the same footing, in regard to trade, as the English and Dutch, and a perfect neutrality in time of war.

The negotiation was pursued, secretly, on this basis, by the interposition of Spain; but it was, no doubt, afterwards contravened by the English, who yet had some partisans in the council of the Queen of Portugal. Their intrigues embarrassed this Princess; their threats operated on her natural timidity.

Perfectly seconded, at least, in appearance, by M. de Florida Blanca, we thought our aim

was accomplished, when an evasive answer, from the only Portuguese minister, who was devoted to us, deferred our hopes. The isolated negotiation of Spain, with Portugal, was concluded; and all that the court of Madrid could do for us was, to get inserted, in the treaty, signed the 24th March, 1778, that she reserved, to herself, the right of inviting such powers as she thought proper, to accede to it.

This stipulation we might again have turned to account. Our accession to the treaty ought to have been the immediate consequence. This was not done, however, until five years afterwards; and, in that interval, the weakness of the court of Lisbon, and the influence which the partisans of England preserved over her, led her to give our enemies repeated proofs of her partiality.

We, sensibly, experienced them during the American war. It was, more than once, a question with us, to revenge ourselves. However, since the beginning of the year 1781, Portugal has evidently inclined towards us. In the month of June, following, we endeavoured, by the intervention of Spain, to realise

that accession, so long deferred. The cabinet of Lisbon, always circumspect, manifested a disposition the most conciliatory, but requested time for consideration. As long as the war with England lasted, Portugal was fearful of giving her any offence. Although the proposed treaty contained no stipulations, but what were absolutely harmless, she would not have failed to suspect secret articles. The risk of such a measure, under the circumstances, in which Portugal was, would, inevitably, have deprived her of the fruit of her neutrality, and, altogether, exposed her vessels to the brutality of the English privateers, even though the court of London had not been disposed, openly, to evince its resentment. We submitted to these arguments, and waited until preliminaries were signed with England, for the renewal of this negotiation. It was resumed in the month of May, 1783; set on-foot at Lisbon, it was continued at Madrid, by the direct interposition, and with the concurrence of the King of Spain, who consented to be a contracting party in the act of accession. It was translated into three languages, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, and was signed the 15th of July, 1783, by the ambas-

sador of France for the court of Versailles; by the Count de Florida Blanca, for that of Spain; and by the Marquis de Lauriçal, the Portuguese ambassador, for the court of Lisbon.

The preamble is as follows:

By the 17th article of the treaty of amity, and protection, concluded between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, on the 11th of March, 1778, it has been stipulated, that the articles of the said treaty, or any of them, capable of application to other powers, which the high contracting parties may judge it right to invite to accede to them, their Catholic and most faithful Majesties, reserve to themselves the power of entering into an agreement on this head, and to regulate, in all its parts, the manner of executing it, with due attention, to the reciprocal interests of the two crowns, and of that or those that may be invited, and shall desire to accede thereto.

In consequence of this compact, his Catholic Majesty agrees, with her most faithful Majesty, to acquiesce in the wishes manifested by his most Catholic Majesty, to accede to the said treaty,

and in order to give effect to what has been agreed on this subject, the King, &c. (Here follow the names of the three contracting sovereigns, and those of their plenipotentiaries.)

By virtue of the full power, which the said plenipotentiaries, have interchanged, they have resolved to insert, verbatim, the said treaty of the 11th of March, 1778, the tenor of which is as follows:

Fiat Insertio.

Conformably, therefore, to what has been agreed, and to the said article seventeen, the above-named plenipotentiary, of the most Christian King, to bring close, and consolidate still more, the bonds of friendship and union, which subsist between the crowns of France, Spain, and Portugal, declares, that his most Christian Majesty, accedes, by virtue of the present act, to the treaty, inserted without any exception or reserve, as to what concerns, or may concern it; and he promises, faithfully, to fulfil, on his part, all the agreements, clauses, and conditions, by which their most Catholic, and most faithful Majesties, have respectively bound themselves, and, in their name, the undersigned

plenipotentiaries, accept this accession; and promise equally, in what concerns them respectfully, to fulfil, on their part, without any exception or reserve whatever, in what regards his most Christian Majesty, all the agreements, clauses, and conditions, of the said treaty, as if he had been a party therein from the beginning."

The negotiation, which preceded this accession, and its conclusion, for some time, fixed the attention of Europe. It already began to be rumoured, that the court of Lisbon had, at last, opened its eyes to its true interest; that England would no longer be the proprietor of the mines of Brasil, and that the Portuguese would be its collectors no longer. In truth, however, the treaty that Portugal was concluding with us, was a mere stepping-stone. It contained no stipulation, prejudicial to English commerce; but, it was something for Portugal to have made a movement, which proved, that she had, at least, recovered her free agency. But would it stop there? That was what the cabinet of London, did not seem to flatter itself with. It, on the contrary, foresaw that it was an alliance which would throw it into the arms of the house of Bourbon.

The subsequent events, dissipated her apprehensions. In the first emanation of the sentiment which had approximated the three courts, it was instantly suggested to connect their ties, by uniting the Queen of Portugal in the family compact. After some reflection, the cabinet of Versailles itself, thought that this project, must be brought to maturity, in a moment of greater tranquillity; that it was necessary, first, to balance our commercial interests with Portugal. But our attention was then, almost entirely, absorbed, by the affairs of the Levant. The court of Madrid, was engaged in plans of internal administration, and that of Lisbon, was naturally, slow and timid. Our connexion with Portugal, was therefore, yet, only in prospect, and to the present moment, we have derived no advantage from these transient symptoms, which, subsequent circumstances, have rendered less promising.

In the mean time the court of Madrid, entirely regardless of our interests, did not neglect her own. Her prime minister, the Count de Florida Blanca, immediately, after the signature of the peace of 1783, formed a plan, then unknown to us, of connecting by two

intermarriages, the ties of Spain and Portugal. This was, in fact, indirectly promoting our views, with respect to the latter power, since, one among the results, and not a very distant one, must be to detach it from England; but, the principal object of the Spanish minister was, to pave the way, by distinct means, for the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal under one head. One of the two projected marriages, M. de Florida Blanca conceived would accomplish this purpose, to which he attached great importance, and which he thought would immortalise his administration. The first was to unite the infanta Charlotte, eldest daughter of the Prince of Asturias, now Charles IV., to the Prince of Brasil, presumptive heir to the throne of Portugal. The second was, to unite the infant Don Gabriel, second son of Charles III. with one of the young Portuguese princesses. This was, in the vulgar phrase, having two strings to his bow. The Prince of Asturias had had many male children, who had lived but a short time. The one which remained, was in a weak state of health. In default of males, the infanta Charlotte, might one day ascend the throne of Spain, and the projected union would be effected.

But the pragmatic sanction of Philip V., had changed the order of succession to the crown of Spain, by preferring all the males of the reigning family to the females, even of the elder branch. Should this law be observed, of which the partisans of the old order of Castillian succession doubted, the infant, Don Gabriel, might become king of Spain, after his brother, if the latter should have no male children. On his side, his wife might come to the throne of Portugal, and the union of the two crowns still be effected, by this second hypothesis. Such were the combinations, which had decided this double alliance. The court of Madrid, thus felicitated itself, on having, prospectively, paved the way, for the pacific conquest of the kingdom of Portugal, the prime object of its ambition, and, already, had those, who like to indulge in promising conjectures, applied to it, the famous adage of the house of Asturias and said, *Felix Hispania nube.*

The event overthrew these calculators. Three of the sons of the king of Spain survived; and his eldest daughter, the infanta Charlotte, will probably never become Queen of Portugal. But this double alliance has, at least,

had the advantage of consolidating the friendship of the courts of Madrid and Lisbon. This good understanding has since continued to subsist; and has, even, sometimes, been manifested at the expense of France. These marriages had scarcely been concluded, when a dispute arose between the Portuguese and us, on account of the slave trade, on the coast of Angola. The mediation of Spain was called for by the two parties, both of which, might have been wrong. The English party, which still influenced the cabinet of Lisbon, which was supported, also, by the marriage of the Queen, took advantage of this circumstance, as was to be expected. It had only one part to play, but the conduct of the court of Madrid, ought, at least, to have been impartial, and we plainly discerned, that the balance, in her hands, preponderated in favour of Portugal. The incidental difference was, notwithstanding, amicably settled, in the course of 1785, but the court of Lisbon, grew sensibly cool, during the following years. There was but a slight hope of her acceding to the family compact. Spain, after she had contracted the alliances with her, believed she could restore to us the good intentions of Por-

tugal, and flattered herself, that she would accomplish this desirable purpose for us. Our assent to the treaty of Pardo, continued unproductive of any effect, and it, doubtless, was a serious mistake of our old government. Immediately on the signature of that accession, we might have possessed ourselves of the commercial advantages, of which we were implicitly assured; we ought, without delay, to have sent into the Portuguese harbours, such of our merchandise as had been, before, excluded the kingdom. The Spanish minister himself, reproached us with this neglect, but, when it was too late to repair it. The first fervor of the court of Lisbon, had cooled. Reflection, had renewed, if not, her affection for the English, at least, the terror with which they have, for so long a period, inspired her. The affair of the coast of Angola, in which, we made her feel her weakness, in a manner, somewhat humiliating, without having even the address to profit by it, revived its suspicions, and put new weapons into the hands of our enemies, which surrounded her. Our relations with Portugal, during the intermediate years between that period and the beginning of the French Revolution, were reduced to those

vague assurances, of which courts are so prodigal. Our court had more important interests to look to, than the alliances with Portugal. The affairs of the Levant, the overthrow of Holland, and her own difficulties, absorbed all her attention. The cabinet of Lisbon, fluctuating between England, who would not renounce her controul, and Spain, who endeavoured to influence her, by the ties of blood, was nearly forgotten by our government.

The French Revolution broke out during these transactions, and struck terror into the court of Lisbon, as well as into every other. Of too little importance to follow a system of her own, she could only obey the impulse of other great powers. By a concurrence, of extraordinary circumstances, but which could only be momentary, she found herself plunged into a war with the French republic, by the two monarchies, which, were contending for her friendship, and with whom, for an interval, at least, she had reconciled, apparently, diametrically opposed interests. But the unnatural coalition of England and Spain, could not but be as transient as the cause.

Spain, brought back, by reflection, by British arrogance, and by the military events, to more prudent engagements, withdrew from the connection, but left Portugal, which England had too powerfully tied up, to permit her to consult her own interest. Spain, since her reconciliation with France, appeared, at first, to take part in her resentment against the court of Lisbon.

Projects of conquest, dictated by different motives, seemed to occupy, for some time, these two powers. The dangers to which Portugal saw herself exposed, awakened the fears of those persons who ought to have had the most influence in the resolves of her cabinet: the parties which divided it, were still in existence; but that in favour of peace preponderated.

There arrived at Paris, a Portuguese negotiator, who, at the outset, inspired confidence and good will. The English, whose vessels commanded the Tagus, and whose troops occupied Lisbon, and the adjacent forts, favoured the negotiation, by the oppressive protection with which they encumbered their allies. The

Portuguese plenipotentiary, at length signed, in 1797, a treaty of peace, with the Directory of the French Republic. This treaty imposed conditions little oppressive to Portugal, and worthy of a generous government, which would not seem to trample on the weak: it was ratified, without difficulty, by the legislative body, but the ratification of the court of Lisbon, was a new object of debate, between the opposing parties; and these debates were so prolonged, that the time, fixed for the ratification, expired before this formality had been complied with. The first treaty was, therefore, declared null by the French government, and Portugal was involved in new difficulties.

Such is the nature of her obligations, to her powerful allies: she will no more obtain peace, until she has experienced reverses, or by much more painful sacrifices than those which were, at first, required of her. And will England indemnify her for this? Will Portugal, from this bitter lesson, be taught to adopt a less fluctuating policy, unite herself permanently with two governments, who desire to be in amity with her, and who have no interests in tyrannizing over her?

To enable the reader to appreciate what she has lost by this tergiversation, and the service, which the partisans of the English system have rendered her, we shall here give a summary of the treaty of peace, which, had she been well advised, she would have complied with: it may be compared with that which victory or pusillanimity, will, sooner or later, impose upon her.

Abstract of a Treaty of Peace, signed on the 10th of August, 1797, between the French Republic and Portugal.

Preamble. Nomination of plenipotentiaries.

ARTICLE I.

Peace and friendship between the French Republic, and her most faithful Majesty.

II.

Cessation of hostilities, after the exchange of ratifications, that is to say, in fifteen days for Europe, and the neighbouring seas; and for those of Africa on this side of the equator. In forty days for the countries and seas of Africa and America, on the other side of the

equator. In three months for the countries and seas situated to the east of the Cape of Good Hope.

III.

All that has been taken on either side, shall be restored without indemnity.

IV.

Her most faithful Majesty, as well as the French Republic, engages to observe a strict neutrality, in case of a rupture between Portugal or France, and any other powers of Europe; likewise, neither of the two contracting parties shall furnish supplies to the enemies of the other, of troops, ships, arms, ammunition, provisions, money, &c.

V.

Her most faithful Majesty, will not admit, into her larger ports, at one time, more than six ships of war, belonging to a belligerent power, nor more than three, into her lesser ports. The prizes, made by them, shall not enter into the ports of her most faithful Majesty, excepting, in cases of imminent danger, and they shall quit them as soon as it is over.

The cargoes, or captured vessels shall not be sold there. The same stipulations on the part of France.

VI.

Her most faithful Majesty recognizes, as belonging to the republic, all that is situated to the north of the limits, about to be settled; renouncing those rights which were validated by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. All that lies to the south, shall belong to her most faithful Majesty.

VII.

The division of the two Guianas (French and Portuguese) shall be formed by the river, called Colmine (by the French named Vincent Pinson), which discharges itself into the ocean above Cape North, at two degrees and a half, north latitude; following that river to it source, and afterwards a line drawn from that source to Rio Blanco.

VIII.

The mouth, and the whole course of the said river, shall belong to the French Republic. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, settled on the

southern bank, shall not be deprived of the use of the stream, and of its waters, for which they shall not be subject to the payment of any duty.

IX.

Those who reside to the north, shall be at liberty to live there under the laws of the republic, or to withdraw, with their effects, and to dispose of the lands they possess. The same liberty is given to the French, who have settled to the south. Two years are given, on both sides, for making their election.

X

A treaty of commerce, shall be concluded between the two powers, as soon as possible.

In the mean time it is agreed :

1st. That commercial regulations shall be established immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, and the French and Portuguese, shall enjoy, with each other, all the rights, privileges, &c. of the most favoured nation.

2nd. That the produce of their soil, and their manufactures shall be respectively admitted,

if those of the same kind, from other nations, are so; that they shall be subject to no other prohibitions, than those to which the same kind of merchandise of every other nation shall be.

3d. That, in the mean time, as the French republic can only offer a very confined channel, for the wines of Portugal, which cannot balance the introduction of French cloths into that kingdom, upon these two points, things shall remain in the same condition as at present.

4th. That the right of inheriting the property of aliens, shall be regulated respectively by those of other nations.

5th. That in respect to these rights, a diminution of these duties on both sides, shall be made on merchandise, the produce of the two powers, provided they are brought in the ships, of those nations, freighted on account of the merchants, to whom they belong, and sent direct from the port of either power to that of the other. The amount of that diminution, as well as the description of merchandise, to which it shall be applicable, to be regulated by a treaty of commerce.

6th. All the commercial regulations, stated in the preceding treaties, and which this does not annul, shall be provisionally observed.

XI.

The respective merchantmen, and ships of war, shall be reciprocally admitted, on the same terms as the vessels of the most favoured nations.

XII.

The consuls, and vice-consuls of France, shall enjoy the same rights as before the war, and the same as those allowed to the most favoured nations.

XIII.

The ambassador, or minister from France, shall enjoy the same immunities, and precedency, as the French ambassadors enjoyed before the war.

XIV.

All French citizens, as well as the individuals who form the establishment of the ambassador, or minister, of the consuls, or

other agents of the republic, shall enjoy, in Portugal, the same liberty of worship as the most favoured nations.

This and the two preceding articles shall be, in like manner, observed in France, with respect to the Portuguese.

XV.

All prisoners, on either side, shall be delivered up, in one month, on payment of the debts contracted by them, during their confinement. The sick and wounded shall continue to be attended in the respective hospitals, and shall be delivered up after their recovery.

XVI.

The peace re-established by this treaty shall be common to the Batavian republic.

XVII.

This treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged in two months, from the date of it.

Paris, 23d Thermidor, year 5,
(*10th August, 1797.*)

This treaty was signed by the Directory of France, on the 23d Thermidor.

It is observable, upon the 6th, 7th, and 8th articles, which fix the new limits of the two Guianas, that by an examination of the corrected maps of South America, it is obvious, that Portugal gained more than she lost, by the new line of demarcation. This stipulation which can only have arisen from a mistake, will doubtless be corrected in a future treaty.

The 3d section of the 10th article, gives rise to another observation. The French government, which, as we have said elsewhere, could have taken advantage of her accession to the treaty of Pardo, to introduce, into Portugal, articles of French manufacture on the same terms as English merchandise of the same kind, wished, in the treaty of the 23d Thermidor, not to stipulate in favour of that nation, any alteration in the former statement; and Portugal, far from endeavouring to avail herself of this act of extreme condescension, admitted herself to be so blinded, as to provoke, by her tergiversation, the an-

nulment of such a treaty. She wanted peace; and herself delayed its accomplishment. She tires out moderation, and calls in necessity.

What evil genius has conspired against her true interest? Is it in France that she finds her most formidable enemies?

But, say they, at the time we are now writing (May 8th), she is alive to the dangers of her situation. She feels the full weight of the chains imposed on her by England, who, by her imperious conduct, even in the capital of her ancient allies, appears to wish to justify their approaching defection, and spare them remorse, and even regret at the separation.

We proceed, with the author, to close this chapter on policy, and this work on Portugal, with a summary of the principal acts, which respect her foreign connections, and of those wherein consist what is improperly termed, her constitution; as if there could be a constitution in a country which knows no law besides the will of the monarch, merely, regulated by some statutes regarding the succession to the throne, and, some civil or criminal laws,

the operation of which he can suspend with impunity.

We shall begin with the fundamental laws, as they call them.

Fundamental laws of Portugal, made in the first convocation of the States-general, held at Lamego, a city of the province of Beira, in the reign of Alphonso I. in 1143.

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, the inseparable Trinity, I, Alphonso, son of Count Henry, and of Queen Theresa, grandson of Alphonso the Great, Emperor of the Spains, and lately, by the grace of God, raised to the royal dignity.

God having granted us repose, after having given us victory over our enemies, the Moors, willing to take advantage of this interval of tranquillity, we have convoked those, whose names and quality are here inserted: Archbishop of Braga, the bishops of Veseu, Oporto, Coimbra, and Lamego, with all our other counsellors, residing with their families in

the towns of Coimbra, Guimaraens, Lamego, &c.

Laurant de Venegas, before he spoke for the King, in quality of his attorney-general, in presence of the King, (seated on his throne, but without any royal distinction,) and of the secular and regular clergy assembled in the church of St. Marie d'Almançave, arose and said,

King Alphonso, whom you elected in the field of Ourique, has convened you, in this place, to lay before you the Pope's briefs, and to demand, whether it is your will that he should be King. All answered, *We wish him to be King.* How shall he be King? Shall the regal dignity cease at his death, or shall his children succeed him? All answered, He shall reign, as long as he lives, and his children after him. If that be your determination, continued Venegas, give him the insignia of royalty; and all answered, We give him the insignia, in the name of the Lord.

The archbishop of Braga, then rose, and

took from the hands of the Abbé de Lorbano, a crown of gold, enriched with pearls, and given to this monastery, by the Gothic kings, and placed it upon the head of the King, who held his sword naked in his hand, the same which he wore in battle.

Alphonso then said, in a loud voice, Blessed be God, who has always assisted me, when I delivered you from your enemies, with this sword, which I bear for your defence. You have made me King, and I ought to share with you the care of the state. I am then your King, and since I am so, let us make such laws as may establish tranquillity in our kingdom.

We will, replied the people: make what laws you please, we are at your disposal,—we and our families.

Upon this answer, the King called the bishops, the nobility, and those who had the proxies of the absentees; and they agreed, in the first place, that it was necessary to make laws for the succession to the throne; which

were such as are expressed in the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

May King Alphonso, live many years, and reign over us: if he have male issue, they shall be our Kings, without its being necessary to go through the ceremony of a new election. The son shall succeed to the father, then the grandson, afterwards the great grandson, and so on in perpetuity of descent.

II.

If the oldest son of the King die in his father's life, the second son, after the death of the King, his father, shall be our King. The third shall succeed the second, the fourth the third, and so on with the other sons of the King.

III.

If the King should die without male issue, the brother of the King, if he have one, shall be our King, but only during his life; for, after his death, the son of this last King shall not be our King, unless the bishops

and states elect him, and then he shall be King, but not otherwise.

IV.

Laurent de Venegas, rose to say to the bishops and other lords: The King enquires if you desire that the daughters should have part in the succession to the crown, and wishes thereon to make a law. The bishops and lords, after a long discussion, determined that the daughters of the King should reign, but in the following manner.

V.

If the King have no male issue, and have a daughter, she shall be Queen, after the death of the King, provided she marry a Portuguese nobleman: but this noble shall not bear the title of King, unless he have a male child by the Queen, who has married him. When he is in the company of the Queen, he shall walk on her left hand, and shall not place the regal crown upon his head.

VI.

That this law shall be always observed,

and the eldest daughter of the King shall have no other husband, than a Portuguese lord, in order that foreign Princes may not become masters of the kingdom. If the King's daughter marry a foreign Prince or noble, she shall not be recognized as Queen, because we do not wish that our people should be compelled to obey a King who is not a Portuguese by birth, as they are our subjects, and our countrymen, who, without other assistance, but their valour, and at the expence of their blood, have made us King.

VII.

These are the laws which relate to the succession to the crown of Portugal, which Albert, the King's chancellor, read with a loud voice: The people applauded and said, that they were good and just, and added that they would have no others, either for themselves, or for their descendants, who, like them, would observe them, inviolably, and for ever.*

* Although these laws, called fundamental, sanction the despotism of the monarch, they breathe, at the same time, a spirit of independence and dignity, mixed with the sim-

VIII.

Laurent de Venegas told the people, that the Sovereign, asked, If they were disposed to

plicity of the manners of the times; and, after more than seven centuries, are, still, read with interest. They have also this, which is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the revolutions which have agitated Portugal, they are preserved unaltered, to the present day. Violence, but violence alone, exercised by a powerful and imperious neighbour, has derogated from them in the course of this long interval. The Portuguese, on this ground, objected to Philip II. when, in 1580, he pretended to the throne of Portugal, alleging that his mother Isabel was a Portuguese Princess, grand-daughter of King Emmanuel. She had married a foreign Prince, Charles V. and had therefore, according to the statutes of the states of Lamego, forfeited her right to the crown, and could not transmit them to her son. The arms of Philip II. as is not uncommon, trampled over this legal argument. But it was revived with success, 60 years afterwards, when the Portuguese, tired of the oppressive rule of the Spaniards, recalled to the throne, the Duke of Braganza, whose mother, although a younger sister to the mother of Philip II. had married a Portuguese nobleman.

From this period, the statutes of the states of Lamego, relative to the succession to the throne, have been, invariably, observed in Portugal. The present Queen reigns, because she is the daughter of the last King, and, especially because she married a Portuguese Prince. The Infant, Don Pedro, as long as he lived, was only the husband of the Queen. He took the title of King, according to the same statutes,

make laws respecting nobility and justice." They answered, that they consented he should do so, conformably to the divine laws; and they are as follow:

IX.

All those who are of the blood royal, as well as their descendants, shall be acknowledged to be Princes. Such Portuguese as shall have fought for the King's person, for his son, or for the defence of the royal standard, shall be noble; but neither the descendants of Moors, nor the sons of Jews, nor the children of infidels,* shall aspire to nobility.

If a Portuguese be made a prisoner by

merely, because he had sons by his wife. She alone, actually, reigns, and it was only out of respect to her husband, that she permitted the coins to bear their united effigies.

There is something striking in this adherence of a nation to its fundamental laws. It is only to be regretted that those have no reference to subjects of greater consequence to the nation, than the succession to the throne. But this inviolable observance of any rule whatever, proves, at least, to the monarch, that there is something, in the state, paramount to his will, and which may serve to temper the extravagance of despotism. *Editor.*

* Here we discern the barbarism of the twelfth century. *Editor.*

barbarians, and die in his captivity, without having renounced the sanctity of his baptism, or his religion, his children shall be noble. Any one who shall have killed an enemy, who is a King, or his son, or shall have taken the royal standard, shall become noble. The ancient nobility shall always rank as such, and those who bore arms in our service on the famous day of Ourique, shall be noble, and demonstrated our ancients.

X.

If a nobleman be so cowardly as to fly in the day of battle; if he strike a woman, either with his lance, or with his sword; if he have neglected to expose his life, for the personal liberty of the King, or for that of his son, or for the defence of the royal standard; if he be convicted of perjury, or have concealed from the King, the truth, in matters on which his Majesty wished to be informed; if he defame the Queen or her daughters; if he desert the armies of his Sovereign, to enter into the service of the Moors; if he steal; if he blaspheme the holy name of God; if he attempt the person of the King; such noble-

man, as well as his posterity, shall be deprived of every characteristic of nobility.

XI.

These are the laws concerning nobility,* that Albert, Chancellor of his Majesty read with a loud voice. The people applauded, and answered, that they were good and just, and added, that they would have no others either for themselves, or for their descendants, who, like them, should always keep them inviolably, and for ever.

XII.

Denizens shall be obedient to the King.

* If the institution of the nobility could be supported by reason, it would be in the cases specified in the articles IX. and X. of these statutes which lay down the means of acquiring, and, particularly, of losing it. It is singular, that it should be, precisely, in ages, the most enlightened, that this institution have attained the lowest degree of absurdity; that nobility has been sold for money, acquired by the most disgraceful acts. Shall we accuse philosophy of this perversion? No; it is in the nature of man, that the most laudable, or at any rate, the least objectionable, institutions should degenerate in proportion, as they go further from their source; and this arises, not from the pernicious influence, but its spite of the progress of philosophy. *Editor.*

The judgments and ordinances delivered by the Alvazils, who are the judges established by the King, to determine according to the laws of equity, shall be enforced, and our people shall be obliged to submit to them.

XIII.

Whoever shall be convicted of theft, shall be exposed, with his shoulders naked, in the public square, for the two first offences; if he repeat the crime, he shall be marked on the forehead with a hot iron; if he continue in the same practice, he shall be brought to trial, but if condemned to die, the judges shall not put the sentence into execution without the express command of the King.

XIV.

If a married woman commit adultery, and the husband, having sufficient proof, lay his complaint before the judge, and the judge before the King, the adulterer and adulteress shall be condemned to the flames: but if the husband reclaim his wife, and pray that the execution of the sentence be suspended, the adulterer, with this woman, shall not be punished, because the law forbids that one should

die, when the accomplice in the crime escape unpunished.*

XV.

Every one, guilty of homicide, whoever he may be, shall be condemned to die; also, every one who shall violate a female of noble rank; and all the property of the ravisher shall go to the female.† If the female be not noble, the man, without any regard to his quality, shall be obliged to marry her.‡

XVI.

When any one take, by force, the property belonging to another, he who have been robbed

* This law, applied to adultery, was the means of infallibly preventing the punishment of the criminals. It would, therefore, have been wiser, not to have passed the law at all. *Editor.*

† This was a pretty good expedient to procure a portion for females of noble rank, who had neither fortune nor decency. Those who could take advantage of such a law, must certainly have neither one nor the other. *Editor.*

‡ This law, if it had been observed, would have made the real violation of the daughters of commoners very unusual, and have increased the number of unequal marriages under this pretext. *Editor.*

shall make his complaint to the judge, and the judge shall cause the restoration of what had been taken from him.

XVII.

Whoever shall wound another with a sword, stone, or stick, shall be condemned, by the judge, to pay the person so wounded, two mo rabitins.

XVIII.

Whosoever shall injure, in any way whatsoever, an Albazil, who is a minister of justice, or an Alcaide, who is an officer of war, both established by the King, for the exercise and functions of their respective appointments, shall be branded with a hot iron, in case he have given a blow; otherwise, he shall be condemned to pay 50 morabitins.

XIX.

These are the laws concerning justice,*

* If the laws concerning justice, were confined to the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th articles, we must admit, that the criminal code of the ancient Portuguese was not voluminous. *Editor.*

which Albert, the King's Chancellor, read with a loud voice: the people applauded, replied that they were good and just, and added that they would have no others, either for themselves, or for their descendants, who, like themselves, would observe them inviolably, and for ever.

XX.

Laurent de Venegas, arose and said to the people, Do you wish that our Lord, the King, should go to the assemblies of the King of Leon, that he should pay tribute, either to him, or to any other foreign personage, authorised by the pope, who has made him King? Every one stood up, and drawing his sword, held it in his hand, saying, in a loud voice, We are free, as is our King like us; we owe our freedom* to our courage, and if the King consented to do such a thing, he would be unworthy to

* It will be easily understood, that the words *free* and *freedom*, cannot be here taken in their liberal sense: they were not then, nor are they now, with many people, other than synonimous with *independent*, a state of *independence* of another nation. There prevails, however, in this profession of faith, of the Portuguese people, a sort of noble pride, which must be gratifying to the friends of true liberty. *Editor.*

live, and though King, he should not reign over us. At these words, the King, having the crown upon his head, and the sword drawn in his hand, stood up, and said to the people, You know the risks I have run, and the dangers to which I have been exposed, to procure, for you, this liberty, which you enjoy: I take you, as well as this sword, which I bear for your benefit and defence, to witness it. Should any King consent to be guilty of such an infamous action, let him die; should it be either my son, or my grandson, let him be deprived of the crown. They all exclaimed, It is well: they shall die, and if the King be base enough to submit to any other power, let him cease to reign. The King replied, so be it.

An act, intituled, Alphonsi regis Portugaliæ, constitutiones de insignibus regis regnique Portugaliæ quas, ob visionem mirabilem eidem ultrà Tagum, in agro antiquo cælitus ostensam ferre jussit. Tracta charta, 3 Kal. Nov. 1152.

This instrument is an act, whereby, King Alphonso attests a conversation, which he had, on the plain of Santaren, with Jesus Christ, cru-

cified on a cross, elevated, as he says, ten cubits from the ground: he adds, that Jesus Christ spoke to him in a low voice; it concludes by devoting to the malediction of God; and to hell, whoever shall dare to doubt the fact. The result of this fact, which is most authentically proved is, that St. Bernard thereby obtained for his convent, of Clairvaux, 50 maravedis of gold. Alphonso thus expresses himself in his royal letter. The 50 maravedis of gold shall be offered, every year, in the royal chapel, the day of the annunciation; the treasurer of the said chapel, shall faithfully remit the sum to Don D—— abbé of the convent of Aldoban, to the end, that it be transmitted to France, to the abbé of the convent of Clairvaux, from whom he shall have a receipt.*

Litteræ Alphonsis, regis Portugaliæ quibus se et regnum suum beatro Petro et sanctæ romanæ ecclisiæ tributarium constituit, videlicet quatuor unciarum auri annuatim Dat. id. dec. 1180.

* It is not unworthy of observation, that this whimsical statute has been, to this day, faithfully observed by the king of Portugal. *Author.*

By this bull, Alphonso I. engages to pay, to Pope Innocent II. a yearly tribute of four ounces of gold, in consideration, that the court of Rome had taken Portugal under its protection, and had declared the King independent of all other crowns. The holy see appointed the Archbishop of Braga, to receive this sum of money, and transmit it to Rome.*

Innocentii Papæ III. epistolæ ad Alphonsum, regem Portugaliæ, se susceptione ejus regnique, et in eo successorum suorum, in protectione ecclisæ romanæ, cum integritate honoris, et dignitate, quæ, ad reges, pertinet, nec non de censu duarum marcharum, quem, Alphonsus ipse statuit, singularis annis, ad utilitatem dictæ sanctæ ecclesiæ persolvendum Datum Laterani, die 16 Kal. mai, indi XV. anni 1212.

It is an instrument of Pope Innocent III. relating to a gift of 100 marks of gold, which

* It is pretended, that, notwithstanding the authenticity of this bull, the sum has never been paid; at any rate, history does not mention it. The bull is preserved in the tower of Tombo. *Author.*

King Alphonso I. bequeathed, when on his death bed, to the pope.

Renovatio antiquorum fœderum inter Eduardum quartum regem Angliæ, et Alphonsum quintum, regem Portugaliæ, ex parte prioris. Datum in palatio Westmonasterii die undecimâ mart. 1471.

This is a recapitulation of different treaties of friendship, between these two powers, under one signature, only.

Renovatio antiquorum fœderum inter Alphonsum quintum, regum Portugaliæ, et Eduardum quartum, regem Angliæ, ex parte prioris. Datum Coimbriæ, die tertiâ August, 1472.

This is another treaty of peace and friendship, between the same two Princes.

Declaration of the three States of Portugal, respecting the proclamation, and re-establishment of King John IV. and the oath that the same states made to him. Done, January 28, 1641.

This is the decree which re-established the House of Braganza, on the throne of Portugal. John IV. convoked the states of his kingdom that they might examine into his rights to the crown; and he was acknowledged, by a solemn act, to be the legitimate King of Portugal, as a descendant by the princess his mother, of the infant Edward, son of King Emmanuel, to the exclusion of Philip IV. King of Spain, which came only of the branch of Emmanuel, by a female, who, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, was excluded from the crown, having espoused a foreign prince.

This decree concludes thus;

The Portuguese, in placing John IV. upon the throne, have had all the most respectable rights in their favour; the rights of succession; the right of representation; and the laws of the kingdom. These rights are more than sufficient to destroy a possession of more than sixty years; a possession violent, and tyrannical, inasmuch as it was acquired by force of arms, and with the aid of a numerous army, by means of which the Catholic King took forcible possession of the said kingdom; moreover,

even this possession was contested, while it was yet undenied; that the trial of the said succession was yet pending, before the supreme tribunals of the kingdom; that the said Catholic King, did not expect that they would declare for him, nor that the states of the kingdom would recognize him as their legitimate prince. Consequently, this possession was illegal, annulled all the acts, decrees, and sentences given in his favour, as well in the states held at Tomar, in 1587, as at those of Lisbon in 1619. The declaration or decree, the conclusion of which we have just transcribed, implies further, that the taking possession was void from other causes, being only founded upon the sentence which awards the Crown of Portugal to the King of Castille; a sentence doubly illegal; first, because it was not unanimous, and secondly, because it was done out of the limits of the kingdom; which was a violation of all the constitutions of Portugal. This declaration was signed by the states of the kingdom, composed of the ecclesiastics, nobility, and third state.

A treaty of alliance and commerce between Christina, Queen of Sweden, and John IV.

This Queen, then at war with the House of Austria, whose power, struck dread into the south, as well as the north of Europe, offers to the Queen and King of Portugal, to assist them with all her powers.

A treaty of confederation and alliance between Louis XIII. King of France, and John IV. at Paris, in 1641. The States-general of the United Provinces were admitted to this alliance.

The Portuguese had just shaken off the yoke of Spain, and seemed to have no reason for taking part in the war, which this power was waging against the Dutch. Portugal and the United Provinces concerted, by this treaty, a truce for ten years, and there these two governments promised, each other, mutual assistance against Spain. France, on her part, engages, in the same treaty, to support the new King of Portugal, against the King of Spain, Philip IV. and to send 27 ships of war, to attack the Castillian fleet, coming from the Indies, or to make descents upon the states of the King of Castille. By article VII. it is said, that free

commerce shall subsist between the subjects, kingdoms and states of the two kings.

A treaty of truce and navigation, as well as of commerce, between John IV. and the United Provinces of the Low Countries, signed at the Hague, on the 12th of June, 1641. The States-general, who consented to an alliance with Portugal, excited by this means another enemy to Spain; but they were determined not to relax in the conquest of Brasil, and adopted, for this purpose, in article IX. of the said treaty, ambiguous expressions which made John IV. well aware of the real intentions of the Dutch. The state of this Prince's affairs, obliged him to dissimulate: he accepted, without explanation, a truce for ten years for the Indies. This truce was ill observed; for while the Dutch were endeavouring to deprive the Portuguese of what they possessed in Asia, they contributed, in Europe, to maintain the House of Braganza, upon the throne of Portugal.

Charles I. of England, was the first King who acknowledged the Duke of Braganza, as King of Portugal.

A treaty of alliance and commerce between Charles I. and John IV. in 1641.

This treaty was concluded at London, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spanish ambassador to the contrary.

Articles of peace and commerce, between Charles I. King of England, &c. and John IV. King of Portugal, Algarve, &c. and their subjects; concluded at London, the 29th of January, 1642.

The Portuguese by this treaty, very soon found themselves in a condition not to fear the Spaniards.

A provisional treaty between John IV. and the United Provinces, on the disputes which have arisen on the subject of the jurisdiction and territory of the Fort of Galla, done at the Hague, March 27, 1645.

The uneasiness which the Dutch gave to the Portuguese in Brasil, the same year, and the advantages they gained over them, gave rise to this treaty.

Treaty at Paris, between Louis XII. and John IV. made in 1647. It is a treaty of guarantee and alliance with the States-general, who then had some differences with the Portuguese, respecting Brasil. Louis XIV. explained, by a particular declaration, that in promising not to assist the enemies of the United Provinces, he did not mean to deprive himself of the right of assisting the Portuguese against Spain, in case the United Provinces should declare war against Portugal.

A defensive alliance was concluded, in 1647, between Portugal and the King of Sweden.

A treaty for accommodating the disputes and misunderstandings of some years duration, relating to Brasil, and elsewhere, under the district granted to the Dutch East India Company, between the ambassador of Portugal on one part, and the Commissioners of the States on the other, concluded at the Hague, 20th of October, 1648. By this treaty, the two contracting parties, reciprocally, restored what they had taken, and provided the means of preventing future differences.

Treaty between Louis XIV. and Prince Edward, Infant of Portugal, made at Paris, 2d of September, 1640. Louis XIV. engages to sign no treaty of accommodation, with the King of Spain, unless the said king stipulate, by an express treaty, that the said Prince Edward shall be set at liberty, one month after the exchange of the ratifications of the said treaty. Prince Edward was kept prisoner by the Spaniards in the Castle of Milan.

Treaty of peace and alliance between Oliver Cromwell, protector of England, and John IV. concluded at Westminster, July 10, 1654.

This treaty, in twenty-seven articles, undertakes the preservation of peace, and the freedom of commerce between the two kingdoms.

Treaty between Alphonso VI. and Oliver Cromwell, 1656.

The object of this was to settle the differences of the two nations, and to secure, to Cromwell, the payment of 400,000 crowns, for pretended injuries, sustained, by the English, from the Portuguese.

Treaty concluded in 1661, between Charles II. and Alphonso VI. for the renewal of their alliance on the same conditions as, in that which they entered into, in 1654.

Treaty of peace and alliance between Alphonso VI. and the United Provinces; made at the Hague, on the 6th of August, 1661.

What gave rise to the treaty was this:

The Queen-regent of Portugal, had bestowed the infanta Catharine, sister to the King Alphonso VI. in marriage to Charles II. King of England, in spite of the intrigues of Philip IV. King of Spain, who offered, that sovereign, a Protestant Princess.

The dowry which the Infanta brought to her husband, was four millions, and the city of Tangiers. England, in consideration of this union, made Holland consent to treat with Portugal, on the condition, that the Dutch should give up their pretensions to Brasil; but that Alphonso VI. should cede, to them, the conquest which they had made in the West Indies.

Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Louis XIV. and Alphonso VI. against the King of Castille: done at Lisbon, on the 31st March, 1667.

This league was founded by Louis XIV. that he might compel the Castillians to make peace.

"Tratado de paz ajustado entre el muy alto y serenissimo principe don Carlos II. rey Catholico, y el muy alto y serenissimo principe don Alonzo VI. rey de Portugal, por mediacion del muy alto y serenissimo principe Carlos II., rey de Gran-Bretana, firmado en Lisboa, el 13 del mes de Febrero de 1668."

The court of Madrid by this treaty, recognised the freedom and independence of Portugal. The rapidity of the conquests of Louis XIV. and, on another hand, the importunate solicitations of England, at length, forced that court to conclude the treaty.

Thus ended the cruel war, which had continued for six-and-twenty years. Spain retained

only the town of Ceuta, which had not followed the revolution of 1640.

It was agreed, by this treaty, that the arms of Portugal should be left out of the escutcheon of Spain.

Treaty of alliance and commerce, between Portugal and the United Provinces; concluded at the Hague, on the 30th July, 1669.

A new commercial treaty was entered into, at Lisbon, relating solely to the East Indies.

These two treaties had no other view than to strengthen the bonds of commerce, peace, and navigation, between the two powers, in Europe, as well as in the other parts of the world.

Treaty of Madrid, between Charles II. King of Spain, and Don Pedro, Prince Regent of Portugal, after the deposition of his brother, Alphonso VI.

This treaty is merely confirmatory of that

which had been concluded between Charles II. and Alphonso VI. at Lisbon, in 1668.

Extract from the offensive and defensive alliance, between Philip V. King of Spain, and Don Pedro, in June, 1701.

The duration of this alliance was to be twenty years, and was guaranteed by Louis XIV.

Treaty with England, in 1703.

This is known by the name of the treaty of Methuen, of which so frequent mention has been made in the course of this work.

A manifesto, containing the rights of Philip V. and the just motives for his expedition; published in Portugal, 9th March, 1704.

Manifesto of the King of Portugal, in justification of his resolve, to assist the Spanish nation, to shake off the French yoke, and to place the Catholic King, Charles III. of Austria, on the throne.

Declaration of war, by Philip V. King of Spain, against the King of Portugal, the Archduke Charles of Austria, and their allies, issued at Placentia, 30th April, 1704.

This declaration of war is founded on the King of Portugal, having, not merely failed in the execution of the offensive and defensive league he had made, with the two crowns of France and Spain, but still further on his violation of that neutrality, which he had himself demanded, and his having contracted an alliance with the Emperor, England, and Holland, and used every effort to put the Archduke Charles of Austria, in possession of the kingdom of Spain.

Treaty between Louis XIV. and John V. for a suspension of arms, for four months, between the crowns of France and Spain on the one part, and that of Portugal on the other part; done at Utrecht, 7th Nov. 1712.

Prolongation of this same truce, for four months, at Utrecht, 1st March, 1713.

Treaty of peace and amity between Louis

XIV. and John V. for the cession and renunciation, on the part of his most Catholic Majesty, in favour of his most faithful Majesty, of all the territories, denominated North Cape; all those, on both sides of the Amzaons' river, and of the navigation and commerce of that river, under the guarantee, offered and accepted, of the Queen of England; signed at Utrecht, 11th April, 1713.

The contents of this treaty are sufficiently set forth in its title.

Treaty of peace between John V. and the Duke of Anjou, as King of Spain, whereby the castle of Noudar, the isle of Verdœjo, and the colony of St. Sacrament, are restored to the crown of Portugal, with cession and renunciation, on the part of Spain, of all the rights, which it claimed, over the said colony; as on the other part, the fortified places of Albuquerque and Puella, revert, in their actual state, to the crown of Spain; which, from other causes, expressed in the treaty, will pay, the King of Portugal, a sum of 600,000 crowns at different periods; the whole under the guarantee of the Queen of Great Britain;

signed at Utrecht, 6th Feb. 1717. With a separate article on the same day, for the freedom of commerce.

The contents of this treaty are sufficiently indicated by the title.

In 1728, the court of Portugal, negotiated, a double alliance with Spain, by demanding the Infanta of Spain for the Prince of Brasil; and proposing also the Infanta of Portugal, for the Prince of Asturias.

This negotiation terminated to the satisfaction of the two courts.

On the 30th of January, 1750, the kings of Portugal, and Spain, concluded, and signed a treaty, for putting an end to the disputes which had arisen between the two powers, in the West Indies.

Treaty with Spain in 1763.

It terminated the war which France and Spain had commenced, the preceding year, against Portugal. Portugal recovered the

places which it had lost; and the affairs of Spain and Portugal were re-established on their former footing.

Treaties with Spain in 1777 and 1778.

These are the two treaties which put an end to the quarrel, relative to Brasil. The substance* of them is given in the progress of this work.

* The two islands of Fernando-Po, and Annobon, situate near the coast of Africa, and ceded, by virtue of the treaty of 1777, by Portugal, to Spain, at present, belong to neither power. Spain, being desirous of taking possession of them, sent two frigates; but the ships' companies were so ill received by the almost savage islanders, and suffered so much from the baleful effects of the climate, that the two islands were abandoned. Even Portugal now exercises no authority over them. The negroes who inhabit the islands, compose a kind of independent republic in each. The other two islands, Prince and St. Thomas, on the contrary, situated between those of Fernando-Po, and Annobon, are possesions of great value to the Portuguese.

There the export trade is carried on with effect. Fresh provisions are kept there for the slave ships of the different nations, and magazines of stores, as well for the islanders themselves, as for the trade of the adjacent coasts of Africa. *Editor.*

SUPPLEMENT

BY THE EDITOR.

TREATY with Spain and France, in 1783.

By this, France, in concert with Spain, acceded to the treaty concluded at Pardo, in 1778, between the last named power and Portugal.

Treaty with the French republic, in 1797.

This treaty became void, by the neglect of Portugal, to ratify it, at the time appointed.

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